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Vol II No 064 *1 April 1983*

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REAGAN SPEECH CONTAINS 'DEMAGOGIC' PROPOSALS

AU312024 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] In the context of demagogic proposals in connection with the problem of nuclear weapons, U.S. President Reagan presented new proposals yesterday in Washington in connection with the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe by the United States and the Soviet Union. Reagan stated that this proposal would be tabled for discussion at the Geneva disarmament talks. These statements are being made at a time when the two superpowers are engaged in an intensive propaganda war in which they are vying with each other in presenting themselves as being the most peace-loving for the benefit of international public opinion.

Meanwhile, Moscow and Washington are accusing each other of a lack of goodwill in withdrawing nuclear weapons from the territory of allied countries, as well as about a lack of sincerity in the Geneva talks.

While this verbal propaganda war is going on, Washington is intensively preparing the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe, while the Soviet Union is preparing to deploy its SS-20 missiles. This is proven by Reagan's statement yesterday, in which he declared openly that despite the outcome of talks between the two superpowers in connection with this question the deployment of U.S. missiles would take place. Meanwhile, a few days ago, Andropov, the Kremlin head, declared arrogantly that Moscow would allow no one to overtake it in the arms race.

PRC MISSION REPORTEDLY LEAVES FOR ALBANIA

OW010559 Hong Kong AFP in English 2135 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 31 (AFP) -- A Chinese economic and foreign trade delegation left Beijing last week for "a discreet visit" to Albania, the first since the two countries broke off economic ties in 1975, the daily newspaper POLITIKA said here today, quoting reliable Chinese sources.

According to the paper's Beijing correspondent, the departure of the trade delegation coincides with the return to Tirana " for consultations" of the Albanian trade attache in Beijing, Mehmet Billikbashi.

The sources quoted by the paper said that China hopes to cooperate with all countries "including Albania" on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence.

FRG MARXIST DELEGATION VISITS, MEETS LEADERS

AU311045 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Tirana, March 31 (ATA) -- At the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA, a delegation of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Ernst August chairman of the party, visited Albania. The delegation was received at the Central Committee of the PLA, where talks were conducted. Present were the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC of the PLA, comrades Ramiz Alia and Simon Stefani, and the head of the Foreign Department of the CC Agim Popa. In an internationalist friendly spirit, opinions were exchanged in the talks on problems of mutual interest for the two parties.

Upon their stay in Albania, the comrades of the delegation of the Communist Party of Germany paid visits in Tirana, Kruje and Durres.

TRUD CRITICIZES REAGAN'S ARMS PROPOSALS

AU312018 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 31 Mar 83

["'New Initiatives' or the Old Tactics" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA) -- Commenting on the "new proposal" in President Reagan's yesterday's televised speech, today's TRUD notes that on the question of limitations of armaments, the Washington administration has so far "done nothing more than firing some propaganda fireworks thus seeking to blunt the discontent of the public."

"Again the smoke screen of deceptions and the search for cheap effects underline the words of the American President" writes the newspaper. "The question lies not so much in the fact that the speech was deliberately read in the morning hours to enable the West European newspapers to publish it. Neither does it lie in the "growing Soviet menace," which has already become a tradition in the policy of Washington, serving as a justification for its own aggressive projects.

The question lies in the proposal itself as made by President Ronald Reagan, in which the most essential element for constructive negotiations is missing again, namely the element called the realistic view on the deployment of strategic forces. In the given case a realistic view would have meant the acknowledgement of the existing parity between the Warsaw Treaty and the Atlantic alliance. This detail precisely is not to the taste of Washington. Should it be recalled once again that the Soviet SS-20 missiles which have raised such a loud noise in the West, are an element which maintains the balance of the forces on the old continent. And it is the deployment of precisely these 572 cruise and Pershing-2 missiles that will disrupt the balance.

Virtually it comes down to the following - the White House proposes to curtail to a certain extent the future menace it intends to generate in Europe, while requiring at the same time by Moscow to liquidate part of the weapons with which the present threat is deterred. Something more President Reagan failed to specify the size of the reductions says TRUD.

Stoyanov Views Proposals

AU311004 Sofia BTA in English 0852 GMT 31 Mar 83

[By BTA observer Todor Stoyanov: "Seemingly Changed, Permanently Pointed"]

[Text] Sofia, March 31 -- A seemingness in the change, persistence in the old goals -- this could be the most concise characteristics of yesterday's statement of President Reagan.

In a political aspect this statement is of a zero value, if we adopt the mathematical term triggered into use by the White House in the disarmament terminology.

It is about simple mimicry: to reduce to some degree the Soviet missiles installed and the uninstalled U.S. cruises and Pershings by leaving untouched both the forward-based weapons of the United States and the nuclear arsenals of their allies Britain and France.

Such an arithmetic, as the Soviet Union emphasized more than once, is equal to unilateral disarmament in favour of the USA and NATO. If it is accepted, this would mean that Washington stations on Western European land some of its cruises and Pershings which, together with the other NATO weapons, will drastically break the now established strategical equation.

The threat from such a breach so perilous for the Warsaw Treaty security would grow if, in a moment suitable for it, Washington deploys all the 572 improved missiles on the old continent, as was noted, by the way, at the recent session of the NATO nuclear planning group.

In other words, the so pretentious "peace-loving" proposal of the President does not add to the necessary constructive spirit at the Euromissile talks in Geneva. It remains entirely in the sphere of the propaganda effort to show Reagan in the role of a statesman concerned over peace, and thus to curb to the extent possible both the criticism of him in America and the swing of the antiwar movement over and on this side of the ocean.

The hope for such an effect, however, does not correspond to the high degree of ripe thinking among those disagreeing with him in both his own country and in Western Europe. And this is why this hope is illusory.

The propaganda pirouettes the White House leader is often resorting to, will turn out inefficient in regard to the antiwar movement troubling his sleep and the sleep of so many other militaristically minded politicians. In their entirety, however, the propaganda manoeuvres of Reagan's are disguising his aggressiveness which raises the danger of fresh confrontation and fresh confrontation and fresh adventures [as received] against peace which could consequently become tender and fragile.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION OPENS 29 MARCH

Agenda Proposed, Adopted

AU291222 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1200 GMT on 29 March carries a 3-minute live replay of the opening session of the Eighth National Assembly. At 1200 GMT the announcer reports the entrance of "Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Grisha Filipov, Petur Tanchev, deputy chairmen of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, and members of the government." Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, opens the session and proposes the following agenda:

"1. Report by the commission to monitor the by-elections for the national assembly;
2. draft bill approving the normative documents issued by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria during the period 17 December 1982 to 10 March 1983;
3. draft bill on referendum;
4. draft bill on amendments and addenda to the civil procedure and family code;
5. draft bill on amendments and addenda to the traffic law;
6. report on the activity of the Legislative Commission;
7. adoption of a declaration in support of the appeal to the world parliaments, governments, political parties and peoples, issued by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 23 December 1982;
8. interpellation by National Assembly member Zdravko Mitovski to the minister of national health on the implementation of regulation No 2 on the hygienic requirements related to the antismoking campaign."

The agenda was unanimously adopted.

At 1203 GMT the announcer reports the end of the live relay.

Report on Draft Bills

AU301335 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] On 30 March the ninth session of the Eighth National Assembly continued. It was attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Grisha Filipov and Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman opened and chaired the second meeting of the session.

On 29 March, while debating the draft bills on the referendum, on amendments and addenda to the civil procedure and family code, and on amendments and addenda to traffic law, some National Assembly members proposed certain amendments and addenda to the draft bills This morning the Legislative Commission held a meeting and reviewed the proposals in detail. At the second reading of the draft bills the commission expressed its opinion. The National Assembly members voted on the draft bills and the proposals of the Legislative Commission. The bills on the referendum, on amendments, and addenda to the civil procedure and family code, and on amendments and addenda to the traffic law, were unanimously adopted.

At today's meeting the Legislative Commission reported its activity. The National Assembly members Georgi Dzhagarov, Dimitur Dimitrov, and Nikola Makedonski took the floor. The National Assembly adopted a decision on the report of the Legislative Commission.

The National Assembly is now discussing the last point on the agenda -- the adoption of a declaration in support of the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee of 23 December 1982 to the world parliaments, governments, political parties, and peoples. Petur Tanchev, chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Commission, is reporting on the declaration.

USSR Peace Appeal Endorsed

AU011140 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Mar 83 p 1

["National Assembly Declaration"]

[Text] The National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wholeheartedly supports the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee adopted on 22 December 1982 to the parliaments, governments, political parties, and to the peoples in the world.

This appeal is an expression of genuine concern about peace and human civilization, which are seriously threatened by the course of confrontation pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism and by their striving to achieve military supremacy. The plans to deploy U.S. intermediate-range missiles in certain West European countries by the end of 1983 and the declared intention to set up space and other qualitatively new systems of mass annihilation are particularly dangerous. The implementation of these intentions will inevitably bring about a new phase in the nuclear arms race and will increase international tension and the real threat of an annihilating nuclear war. That is why the Moscow declaration's ardent appeal to rally the efforts of the peoples, parliaments, and governments to protect and strengthen peace in the world is acquiring historic importance. There is and can be no more important task for mankind than the avoidance of a nuclear disaster.

The National Assembly unanimously expresses its full agreement with the proposals in the appeal and in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member countries adopted in Prague at the beginning of 1983. The basic stands and constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries are a further confirmation of their consistent peace policy, of their steady efforts to avert a world nuclear conflict, to strengthen security, and to develop mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples. The initiative on signing a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations among the countries -- the Warsaw Pact member countries and the NATO member countries -- is of great importance.

In order to guarantee lasting peace in Europe and in the world it is imperative that agreements be signed on limiting and reducing armaments and nuclear weapons in Europe, on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security.

The National Assembly acclaims the honest and creative efforts of the USSR to achieve a mutually acceptable decision at the Geneva talks. The National Assembly fully shares the clear, categorical and just stand of the Soviet Union regarding the latest provocations of the imperialistic nuclear strategists and supports its resolution not to permit any possible violation of the strategic parity.

The National Assembly calls for practical actions for the achievement of initiatives on creating nuclear-free zones in the various parts of Europe, including the Balkans.

Expressing the unanimous desire of the Bulgarian people, the National Assembly declares that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in close, joint action with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and together with all peace-loving forces in the world, will continue to steadily contribute to protecting peace, strengthening international peace and security and guaranteeing the existence and social progress of the peoples.

Bearing in mind the fact that the policy of peace and detente is in keeping with the vital interests of all of mankind, the National Assembly calls on the peoples, parliaments, and governments to actively contribute to helping to ensure that the noble initiatives contained in the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the CPSU Central Committee are achieved so that the threat of a nuclear-missile war can be averted, lasting peace and a peaceful future in the world can be secured, and a wide horizon for developing an equal and mutually beneficial cooperation among the peoples and countries in the world can be developed.

Session Concludes 30 Mar

AU301534 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] On 30 March the ninth session of the Eighth National Assembly ended. The National Assembly members unanimously adopted the bills on the referendum, on amendments and addenda to the traffic law. The National Assembly also completed its debates on one of the most important points on the agenda -- adopting a declaration supporting the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee to the parliaments, governments, political parties, and peoples of the world. By adopting this document the National Assembly expressed the unanimous willingness of the Bulgarian people to live in peace and friendship with all peoples and to march shoulder to shoulder with the USSR. The declaration calls for practical steps in implementing the initiatives on creating nuclear-free zones, including the creation of such a zone in the Balkans.

REACTION TO REAGAN INTERIM PROPOSAL CONTINUES

Nemec Commentary

LD312040 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Ronald Reagan, the United States President, appeared before the ambassadors of the NATO member countries and yesterday also before representatives of the press in order to announce what has been described in the bourgeois press as a new Washington initiative in the Soviet-American talks in nuclear arms limitation in Europe. We are now going to deal with the content of these speeches in a commentary written by Petr Nemec:

Although the governments of the NATO member countries have hastened to issue statements describing President Reagan's proposals as a step in the right direction and proof that the United States wants a rapid and constructive conclusion to the talks in Geneva, it is, nevertheless skepticism that prevails outside the governmental circles. The proposals have been compared to the long-awaited and heralded gift to West European public opinion, which, after the gift has been unwrapped, does not give much grounds for enthusiasm. After all, President Reagan has offered nothing but an adjusted edition of his "zero option," the final aim of which is not for Europe to rid itself of medium-range nuclear missiles, but merely one-sided disarmament by the Soviet Union. The above-mentioned proposals are merely to be some kind of a pause for rest [odpocivadlo] along this route.

The fact is that President Reagan has once again rejected the idea that the missiles which Britain and France already possess today, and which figure in NATO plans, should be taken into consideration in medium-range nuclear missiles limitation talks. When Reagan talked about a partial deployment of the new American weapons, he did not forget to stress that in return for this the Soviet Union should destroy a large part of its global defense capability. This means that the Soviet Union should disarm and expose its territory and the territory of its allies to the threat of American arms, which as is known, have been deployed for a long time on the territory of a number of Western states, and to which he would afterward add additional ones.

Nor did there appear in the U.S. President's proposal any new indications as to his willingness to engage in talks about any area other than nuclear launchers [nossic]. Only one conclusion can be drawn from this and that is that the United States intends to retain their superiority in missiles carried by ships, submarines, as well as by aircrafts. On no account therefore can one regard what President Reagan told NATO ambassadors and representatives of the press as a qualitatively new approach to the Soviet-American talks. And it decidedly does not give any reason for relaxation and relief. The date for the deployment of the new American weapons in Western Europe has not receded.

The reaction of the opposition parties in Western Europe -- and this also applies to most of the reaction by the opposition to President Reagan and his administration in the United States -- has been sceptical and can be summed up in the words "we expected more." Reagan's statements are to be an attempt to put the ball in the other side's court by claiming that now it is the Soviet Union's turn. The West European governments, confronted by public opinion, were to have been supplied with an argument about the alleged flexibility of American attitudes and that the Reagan administration consults its allies before making decisions. Such moves, however, bear far too much resemblance to tricks.

The Soviet and American negotiators have now left Geneva, for the talks have been adjourned until the middle of May. This adjournment is to be used for consultations. Time naturally presses on. The fact that President Reagan has overlooked all initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, which would bring about in the first stage a real limitation of all medium-range nuclear weapons and in the final stage their total elimination from Europe, cannot be assessed in any way but as another manifestation of his delaying tactics. The demand of balance and equal security for all concerned still remains operative. In this respect the American proposals have truly brought nothing new.

Michal Stasz Dispatch

LD010839 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] Reagan delivered a speech on the occasion of his visit to Los Angeles, where a conference of the World Affairs Council was held. In a short speech Reagan was able to repeat everything he has said during his 2 years in office: from the accusations against the USSR to the attacks against people calling for a freeze of nuclear weapons in the United States. While a demonstration of the armament opponents was held in front of the hotel, in the hall Reagan was saying that almost all progress achieved in the moderation of tension between the USSR and the United States is allegedly the result of U.S. initiatives. He failed to mention how, as a result of his activity in office to date, the word "detente" has completely disappeared from the vocabulary and has been replaced by the arms race he initiated. Instead he repeated his plans including the latest so-called interim solution for the deployment of U.S. missiles in West Europe.

As the speech has shown, he submitted the proposal under pressure from the other NATO states, but in reality he is interested only in the zero option which has proved to be utterly unacceptable as a basis for negotiations.

Berko Commentary

LD311522 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Western propaganda is loudly spreading yesterday's statement by U.S. President Ronald Reagan to the ambassadors of the NATO member-states. Editor Machal Berko comments:

Exactly 7 days after his last speech, in which he appealed to U.S. scientists to participate in the development of new technological equipment and weapons which would supposedly make the United States invulnerable, the U.S. President announced in his 10-minute speech an allegedly new proposal for a type of interim solution to the problem of medium-range missiles being discussed in Geneva. In an uncommon verbal equilibristic act the U.S. President claims that it would allegedly be better not to have any missiles, but that currently it is better to have some rather than many. He adds: (?The U.S. ambassador) has informed his Soviet partner that the United States is prepared for negotiations on its draft of an agreement in which Washington substantially reduces its planned deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles provided that the Soviet Union reduces the number of warheads on its medium-range missiles to an equal level on a global basis.

So much for the U.S. President and his proposal for an interim solution. It is not necessary to be a great strategist to understand from this seemingly acceptable proposal that Washington has remained deaf to the fundamental objection of the USSR regarding any deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe.

On the contrary, the United States would now like to implement an alleged retreat (?in the form of) a so-called interim agreement which would still enable them to deploy these missiles in Western Europe on a limited scale. The U.S. President quite ignores the fact that Britain and France also have medium-range missiles. The White House is not giving up its so-called zero option.

The sudden reaction of the NATO countries shows that yesterday's speech was calculated to silence the peace movement in Western Europe. It is in this same spirit that Reagan's speech today, in which he is to give the details of this interim solution, will certainly be delivered.

SVOBODA MEETS DOS SANTOS, PRESENTS HUSAK MESSAGE

LD010333 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 31 Apr 83

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] - Labor Party, received in Luanda today Stanislav Svoboda, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. The Czechoslovak representative handed the Angolan president a personal message from Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic. Stanislav Svoboda will hold further talks in Luanda with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and leading officials of the MPLA-Labor Party on joint measures to secure the release of Czechoslovak citizens kidnapped by the Angolan antigovernmental organisation the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

LER ON MANUFACTURING, FOREIGN TRADE COORDINATION

LD010617 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] The office of the Federal Government Presidium organized a press conference in Prague today devoted to the experiment in coordination between the manufacturing sector and foreign trade corporations. A decision to intrdouce such an experiment into practice was made at the beginning of this year. Leopold Ler, minister of finance, stated at the press conference that the principal purpose of the experiment is to contribute to the creation of a gradual balance in the external relations of our economy. The principal change lies in the introduction of the binding indicator of currency proceeds [devizove inkaso] and of the share of imports against exports, with the upshot that an export task will have been fulfilled as far as the manufacturing organizations are concerned only when imported [as heard] goods cross the Czechoslovak borders.

JAKES, HAMAN ATTEND CPCZ CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRY

LD010035 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] A state-wide conference of secretaries for industry from regional CPCZ committees and the Prague and Bratislava city party committees has taken place in Prague. Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Svatopluk Potac, federal deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission attended.

They discussed findings learned from the approach to breaking down the planned tasks for this year in detail and their fulfillment. They stressed the need for an even more demanding and responsible attitude toward securing all the tasks equably and smoothly with the active participation of the working people as an important prerequisite for ensuring the planned dynamism of the development of the national economy this year.

In particular, they singled out the need to fulfill export targets consistently, expand supplies for the home market and ensure that all manufacturing capacities are put into operation on schedule. The questions concerning the work of the party and economic bodies in raising effectiveness by reducing the consumption of raw and production materials, energy, metals, by broadly applying the results of scientific and technological development and innovation, by raising quality, by better utilizing fixed assets, working time, and strengthening discipline and order in all sections and by applying the principles of the planned management of the national economy were also in the forefront of their attention. The need was stressed to implement consistently resolutions adopted at the annual membership meetings and party conferences as well as suggestions and submissions made at them.

The meeting devoted a great deal of attention to securing the fuel and energy needs of the national economy. The selfless work of miners and the course of the public examination of fuel and energy consumption was commended and the need was stressed of continuing consistently to rationalize fuel and energy consumption, striving to surpass the 2 and 1/2 percent target set to conserve them and to overcome shortcomings in building energy capacities and putting them into operation, especially nuclear powerplants.

TU COUNCIL HOLDS PRAGUE MEETING 31 MARCH

LD010045 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 31 March 83

[Text] A plenary meeting of the Czech Trade Union Council, which began in Prague today, is concerning itself with the development of the effectiveness of ideological and educational work of trade unions in the Czech Socialist Republic. A report of the Czech Trade Union Council Presidium noted the importance of the principle of the comprehensive development of ideological and educational work and its close link with the life and needs of society. The report says that we have not been successful in overcoming views and habits which are not in accord with the way of thinking and behavior of the new socialist man. For this reason it is necessary to wage a more resolute and consistent struggle against slipshod work practices, undiscipline, bribery, pilfering, misuse of properties under socialist ownership, bureaucratism, and against falsifying and distorting figures on work results.

From this viewpoint the report underlined the increasing role of the working collectives, in particular, the brigades of socialist labor, which are exerting direct and all-round influence every day both on the development of production and the soicalist education of the working people.

UTILIZATION OF WORKERS' INITIATIVE REVIEWED

AU311233 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Mar 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Who Is Squandering the Working People's Initiative?"]

[Excerpts] Workers' suggestions are often the least expensive way of improving managerial activity. They are a product of the sincere endeavor to work more and better and, naturally, also to earn more. This is absolutely in tune with the all-social interest. Yet, nonetheless, many managerial employees ignore this initiative, to say the least. In truth, it goes against the grain. Often it exposes their own mistakes and shortcomings.

It is thus superfluous to ask who it is that squanders or, to be more accurate, makes inadequate use of the initiative of workers and other working people. The answer is clear -- only and exclusively managerial employees are to blame for this gross mistake.

Naturally, they will not take this reproach lying down. Sometimes they argue: It is easy to criticize without showing how the state of affairs could be improved. Yes, it is true. Rank-and-file workers often draw attention to shortcomings but do not say how they could be eliminated. Yet we must take into account the fact that sometimes this is impossible for them as it is neither their duty nor within their power. After all, we can hardly expect a turner to solve, let us say, the supplier-user relations between two cooperating workshops while operating his lathe. Someone else is being paid for this and this someone should be grateful to the turner for drawing his attention to the persistent problems.

Enhancing the working people's participation in management -- this has become a popular term in many enterprises. But how can this necessary idea be implemented in the day to day life of the workplaces?

The application of brigade-based khozraschet [profit-and-loss accounting] shows it is one of the most feasible ways toward this end. However, it must not be just an application on paper, but the practical application of its principles, as is done in many Soviet enterprises and plants. Many experimenting enterprises are making life easy for themselves and dealing with the brigade-based form of organizing labor and remuneration primarily on paper -- in the bonus system. They forget that first it is necessary to carry out basic changes in organizing labor, to update and make the performance norms objective, to ensure supplier-user relations and so forth. Only then, at the very end, is it possible to speak about remuneration and to apply the merit principle. However, this is a much more complicated and challenging path; managerial employees prefer to abandon it because they know that a consistent application of the brigade-based method presupposes agreements between the brigade and the enterprise management guaranteeing the members of the brigade timely and adequate deliveries of raw and other materials, energy, and so forth. If the management fails to ensure these, there is bound to be trouble, big trouble. The collective material interest will make not only some individuals but the whole brigade raise their voices. This is what managerial employees do not want. A consistent application of the brigade-based khozraschet would open people's mouths and an avalanche of criticism would fall on individual chiefs and their subjective shortcomings. And, what would be even worse -- obviously for them -- the application of the merit principle would convincingly show whom to give more, and from whom to take....

IMPLEMENTATION OF KHOZRASCHET IN AGRICULTURE

AU311425 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 30 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Ludovit Posa of the CPSL Central Committee and Jozef Dukes, ROLNICKE NOVINY staff journalist: "Questions Surrounding the Implementation of Khozraschet in Agriculture; and It Can Be Done, After All...."]

[Excerpts] What are the biggest mistakes committed by our [agricultural] enterprises when implementing khozraschet [cost accounting system]? In our view it is because in several domains they are (wittingly or unwittingly) implementing too literally the system that has acquitted itself well in industry; they are, namely, not taking sufficiently into account the specific conditions of agriculture -- that is, the crucial influence of nature and biological factors! It seems to us that enterprises expect maximum results, but exert the minimum to create the necessary prerequisites. They are not ensuring the necessary production and economic independence for intraenterprise organizational units which they would like to transform into khozraschet units, and they also are not ensuring the necessary material equipment and are implementing the principle of a sole responsible superior inconsistently. Moreover, no material incentive system has been worked out which would assess the working people according to the personal and collective results achieved.

On the other hand, enterprises are receiving more instructions emphasizing the importance of khozraschet but, unfortunately, fewer practical hints and methodical directives.

This, then, is one side of the coin. But a more thorough study of problems also exposes other very important facts. In our opinion one of the most serious reasons why the intraenterprise khozraschet is not being utilized -- and the opposite of this is being fully proved by the experience of the "1 May" united farmers cooperative in Trnava -- is the certain unconvincingness of enterprises' economists when it comes to the unequivocal advantages of khozraschet management! They view the practical implementation of khozraschet as too demanding, as too much work, and on top of this they are in many cases aware that they are able to fulfill tasks without "unnecessary administration." By this we want to point out the fact that despite the sonorous pronouncements about the necessity of launching the economy on the path of intensive development, the real economic climate often does not force those responsible for khozraschet to utilize untapped potential to any great degree.

CULTURE MINISTER HONORS CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN

AU311112 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Mar 83 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Occasion of a Jubilee"]

[Text] Prague, 29 Mar (CTK) -- On Tuesday in Prague Milan Klusak, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, received Karel Jonas, doctor of philosophy and theology, capitular vicar of the Hradec Kralove Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church, on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

The minister of culture expressed appreciation for the honored person's responsible work for many years as a patriotic clergyman who, with his entire personality, contributed to shaping and developing positive relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak socialist state.

The reception was attended by Bishop Josef Vrana, doctor of theology, apostolic administrator of the Olomouc Diocese; Josef Hendrich, chairman of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy in the Czech Socialist Republic and capitular vicar of the Litomerice Diocese; and other church representatives.

MITTAG MEETS WITH CEMA SECRETARY FADEYEV

LD311246 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1017 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Berlin, 31 Mar (ADN) -- Maximum effectiveness in cooperation with CEMA was the central topic in a cordial and friendly talk between Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Nikolay V. Fadeyev, secretary of the CEMA.

Guenter Mittag said that the economic strategy of the SED for the 1980's is inseparable from the GDR's increasing contribution to the further deepening of socialist economic integration. The close economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA states is a decisive factor enabling the GDR to fulfill its political responsibility in the present and future at the dividing line between the states of the Warsaw Pact and those of NATO. The GDR will continue to do everything necessary to make an active contribution to the further securing of the unity and cohesiveness of the countries of the socialist community.

HONECKER MESSAGE TO IRANIAN LEADERS ON EARTHQUAKE

AU311119 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent telegrams of sympathy to the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The message of sympathy to Ayatollah Ruhollah Mosavi Khomeyni reads:

With deep sorrow I have received the news about the earthquake in your country which claimed many lives.

On behalf of the GDR people I assure you, Your Holiness, the grieving families of those who were killed, as well as all those who were affected by the catastrophe of my deeply felt sympathy.

The message to President Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i reads as follows:

Allow me, Your Excellency, to express our deep sympathy on behalf of the GDR State Council and on my own behalf concerning the tragic earthquake which struck your country.

Your Excellency, please convey our sincere sympathy to the bereaved families of those who died as well as to everyone affected by the catastrophe.

PRC GRATITUDE FOR SYMPATHY ON CATASTROPHE

AU281305 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Ye Jiangying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress, has sent the following message to Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman:

I want to express cordial thanks to you on the sympathy expressed on the catastrophe caused by a landslide in Saleshan [name as published] in Gansu Province.

CHINESE TELEVISION DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR VISIT

AU301050 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- A delegation of the Central Chinese Television (CCTV) has arrived in Berlin. It is headed by Kong Lingduo [name as published], director of international relations.

The Chinese guests will watch GDR television programs, have talks on the further development of relations between the two television organizations and visit Weimar, Leipzig, Dresden and other GDR cities.

DETAILS ON UPCOMING LUTHER CELEBRATIONS REPORTED

DW291045 Bonn DIE WELT in German 28 Mar 83 p 4

[Hans-R. Karutz article]

[Text] Berlin/Bonn -- Contrary to expectations, "GDR" State Council Chairman Erich Honecker, who is also chairman of the State Luther Committee, will not participate in the so-called "Luther Day" at the Wartburg on 4 May. This festive meeting of the church, which at the same time marks the start of the ecclesiastical celebrations in the GDR of the 500th anniversary of the reformer's birth, will be attended by Horst Sinderman (SED), People's Chamber president; Kurt Loeffler (SED), state secretary in the Ministry of Culture; and Klaus Gysi (SED), state secretary for church affairs.

DIE WELT has learned this from reliable sources in the Evangelical Church in Germany [EKD]. DIE WELT has also learned from members of the "GDR" Ecclesiastical Luther Committee that the church federation will adhere to and follow the EKD's recommendation on the delicate issue of inviting President Karl Carstens to the Wartburg. The ecclesiastical celebration in the Wartburg Court -- which commemorates Luther's arrival at the fortress as "Junker Joerg" -- will reportedly be attended by EKD council members, including Richard von Weizsaecker, governing mayor of Berlin, who is a regular member of the council.

It has been learned that as before the "GDR" leaders are setting great store in Carstens' participation in the Wartburg ceremonies. To improve the "GDR's" bad reputation in the field of information policy and news reporting, representatives of all Western media are to be granted entry permits for the Wartburg celebrations.

As reported several times, East Berlin hopes Carstens' potential participation in the EKD delegation will provide a favorable stimulus for the Federal Government's decision on whether the president will participate in the "GDR" national ceremony on 9 November at the State Opera in East Berlin. It is necessary to note that according to official reports from East Berlin, not only the State Council, but the SED Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the "National Front" will organize this ceremony.

During its regular meeting in East Berlin last Thursday (17 March), the Ecclesiastical Luther Committee also dealt with the subject of the "Carstens visit." This provided the opportunity to again go over plans for the 4 May events at the Wartburg.

As was learned from the new official booklet on the working meeting of the "GDR" National Luther Committee, which was chaired by Honecker in October 1982, largely unnoticed by the public, other prominent members have been appointed to this body. They include Paul Verner, who also is the SED Central Committee secretary responsible for security issues. In the past, he has often clashed with leading "GDR" church representatives, including Werner Krusche, former chairman of the Church Federation and bishop of the Saxonian Church Province. Krusche is to resign in the summer of 1983 for reasons of age.

Meanwhile, it has been learned from Western sources that for the first time there have been arguments between the "GDR" state authorities and the church's Luther Committee. According to these reports, the festive opening of Luther's restored collections at the house where he died in Eisleben on 18 February was assured only a few hours prior to the planned inauguration ceremony.

"GDR" officials had refused to hand over to church representatives the key to the electric security installation for the exhibits. The church then delivered an ultimatum and announced its readiness for public action, if need be, through a boycott of the opening ceremony. It was only because of this pressure that the other side relented.

BRIEFS

TRANSPORT TALKS WITH USSR -- Four days of talks ended in Moscow today between the Soviet shipping ministry [as heard] and the GDR Transport Ministry. This year, more than half the goods traffic between the two countries is to be transported by sea. It is planned to use containers to a greater extent and to speed up turnaround. During the talks, the joint construction of the railroad ferry between Mukran on the Island of Reugen and the Lithuanian port of Klaipeda is said to be proceeding rapidly according to plan. The new ferry line is to open in autumn 1986 and will take over some of the considerable goods traffic. Orders for six ships have already been placed with the Mathias-Thesen shipyard in Wismar. Each of them can hold 3 complete goods trains and carry them across the Baltic in 20 hours. This is just 1/6 of the time required for transport over the heavily used overland routes. In addition, no transit is necessary. The construction of these railroad ferries is the biggest joint transportation project ever between the GDR and Soviet Union. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 31 Mar 83 LD]

TRADE WITH ETHIOPIA -- Berlin, 31 Mar (ADN) -- The GDR and Ethiopia are to increase their trade in 1983 and intensify economic cooperation particularly in the field of agriculture. This is the outcome of talks held by the joint GDR-Ethiopian Economic Committee which ended in Berlin on Thursday. In 1983, the GDR is to import from Ethiopia cotton, pulse crops, pelts of small animals, cotton products, and spices. In addition, measures of future industrial cooperation were agreed upon. At the moment, the GDR is constructing a complete cement factory in new Muger [name as received] and, together with the CSSR, a high-performance textile combine in Kombalcha. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1109 GMT 83 LD]

'NEW NEGATIVE ASPECT' SEEN IN REAGAN PROPOSAL

LD310850 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Eva Vertes commentary]

[Text] NATO Headquarters and the governments of most of its member-states have given instant support to the new American proposal for limiting medium-range missiles in Europe. President Reagan outlined the modified American standpoint yesterday. What it means in essence is that the deployment of new American weapons will get under way in Western Europe, but that it might not be completed if the USSR agrees to reducing the number of its missiles. President Reagan and the leaders of the NATO allies also stressed that they consider this interim solution to be only a temporary measure and that ultimately they will try to make the USSR accept the so-called zero option.

In the case of any new proposal, one generally pays attention to three different aspects -- namely, what is novel about it, what remains unchanged, and what is debatable about it. Well, as regards the Reagan plan announced yesterday, there is not enough time now to analyze in detail all its aspects. Nonetheless, it definitely has a new aspect to it in that it calls for an equal number of nuclear warheads on the American and Soviet sides. However, that takes us straight to the third aspect -- namely, that this is debatable or, as it is said, this is a new negative aspect. The reason for this is that each of the Pershing missiles is armed with one warhead while the Soviet medium-range missiles are armed with three each. To establish this kind of parity, the USSR would have to dismantle a large number of its missiles even if NATO were to deploy all its planned 572 nuclear missiles in Europe. Thus NATO would deploy weapons to a ceiling in numbers which is to be jointly set in Geneva. The USSR would have to reduce the number of its existing missiles.

It is, indeed, a novelty that the United States still intends to achieve its unchanged final goal of zero option in a different way through what is called in the proposal an interim agreement. Nothing has changed, though, in regard to the fact that America does not wish to make the French and British nuclear forces as an integral part of a balance.

According to the initial observations of political commentators in Washington, Reagan's proposal has done nothing to diminish the impression that the American Administration is more interested in the arms race than in trying to put an end to it.

STAMBOLIC CONCLUDES OFFICIAL FRIENDSHIP VISIT

Trip to Szekesfehervar

LD310239 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 30 (MTI) -- As reported, Peter Stambolic, president of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Socialist Federal Republic, currently on an official friendship visit to Hungary, Wednesday morning made a trip to Szekesfehervar, accompanied by President Pal Losonczi of the Presidential Council, and Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Roska.

The general manager of Videoton electronical company briefed the visitors on the work of the enterprise which has a staff of 18,000. It was stated that Videoton produces 300,000 television and radio sets and over 200,000 speakers a year, with advanced technology. It has recently started the production of TV sets with modular elements which cut power consumption to a third. In 1970 Videoton embarked started [as received] the production of computers and peripheral units. Since the latest products become obsolete in an average three and a half years, the company considers technical development extremely important. Videoton has two development institutes in the capital.

The general manager stated that his company sells 70 percent of the products abroad and Yugoslavia is a principal hard currency buyer. Last year Yugoslavia bought 4.5 million dollars worth of products.

Peter Stambolic called the work of the company impressive. He stressed that such prominent achievements cannot remain within the borders of a country and virtually demand cooperation also with states where -- because of political considerations -- economic relations are suppressed.

Peter Stambolic noted with satisfaction that cooperation between Hungarian and Yugoslav companies was developing successfully and wished the collective of Videoton further success.

The next scheduled stop was the Vorosmarty cooperative farm of Szekesfehervar which produces 5 tons of wheat and 7-8 tons of maize per hectare, 3.5 to 4 million eggs, 5000-6000 pigs for slaughter and 4000 to 4500 litres per cow a year. Last year the fishermen of the cooperative had a catch of 350 tons of fish from 180 ha of artificial ponds. The average annual earnings of the cooperative members of 70,000 forints are highest in the county.

The visitors were shown round the cooperative farm and the household farm of one cooperative member who raises 35 pigs.

Petar Stambolic and his party returned to Budapest early afternoon.

Tour of Budapest

LD311138 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 30 (MTI) -- Petar Stambolic and his party had a sight-seeing tour in Budapest Wednesday afternoon, and saw the city from the fishers' bastion.

The delegation was briefed on the history of Mathias church and then went the Kelenfold housing estate and the Serbo-Croatian elementary and secondary school. Director Istvan Vujity informed the guest in Serbo-Croatian on the school's activity. He discussed the important changes in the school's 37-year history and its aims of teaching, the love of Hungary, and internationalism and friendship between peoples. He stated that nationalities should learn that, although their country is Hungary, they have a duty to preserve their mother tongue and national culture. The director stressed that the Hungarian state supports the school, boarding pupils are granted scholarships and teachers are entitled to attend courses regularly in Yugoslavia. Finally, the director expressed his thanks for the books presented by Petar Stambolic to the school.

In his reply speech the Yugoslav head of state stressed that Yugoslavia is making every effort to assure equal rights for the Hungarian national minority and other nationalities who live in Yugoslavia. He was satisfied that the Hungarian state also does everything in its power to meet the demands of the Yugoslav minority in Hungary. Finally, Petar Stambolic signed the visitors' book.

Talks With Kadar

LD312346 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (TANJUG) -- The level of friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between Yugoslavia and Hungary, which have been successfully developed for years, was highly appraised in today's (Thursday) talks here between President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Petar Stambolic and First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Janos Kadar.

During the meeting, both sides expressed the desire to further promote bilateral relations, founded on principles determined earlier. It was stressed that these relations can serve as an example of good-neighbourly and equitable cooperation in almost all fields.

The two sides also underlined their respect for different paths in internal development and the specific characteristics of their international position.

Stambolic and Kadar also gave a very positive assessment of the ways in which the position of nationalities in Yugoslavia and Hungary has been solved.

In the exchange of views on the international situation, both sides expressed concern over its constant deterioration. Yugoslavia and Hungary called for the strengthening of the policy of peace and equitable international cooperation, the revival of the processes of detente, and the halting of the arms race.

Stambolic renewed an invitation by the LCY Central Committee president to Janos Kadar to pay a visit to Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Farewell Ceremony

LD312342 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (MTI) -- Following his official friendship visit to Hungary, Petar Stambolic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, left Budapest, Thursday afternoon.

In addition to the Yugoslav head of state's talks with Janos Kadar, the Yugoslav visiting team had further talks with their Hungarian counterparts on the last day of Petar Stambolic' visit to Hungary. Foreign Ministers Frigyes Puja and Lazar Mojsov discussed world affairs of mutual interest and the state of bilateral relations. Istvan Hetenyi, Hungarian minister of finance and chairman of the Hungarian section of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Economic Cooperation Committee, met Nedjelko Mandio, member of the Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Yugoslave section of the cooperation committee. The co-chairmen surveyed the state of trade relations and cooperation agreements and informed each other on their work carried out since their last consultation.

The farewell ceremony took place in front of the parliament building in Budapest where Petar Stambolic and his party were bid farewell by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Istvan Sarlos, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, members of the HSWP Political Committee, Janos Peter, vice-president of the National Assembly, Rezso Trautmann, vice-president of the Presidential Council, Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, Frigyes Puja, foreign minister, several other members of the Hungarian Government, and senior representatives of Hungary's state and social life.

The farewell ceremony ended with a display of the military parade battalion.

Then the guests drove to the Keleti railway station, accompanied by Pal Losonczi and his wife from where the special train of the Yugoslav president departed a few minutes later.

Stambolic Comments on Talks

LD311627 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest 31 Mar (TANJUG) -- At the end of his 3-day official and friendly visit to Hungary, Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, positively assessed the talks which he had with his hosts on bilateral relations and topical international questions.

Stambolic emphasized that the talks confirmed that good and stable relations existed between the two neighboring countries, that comprehensive and mutually beneficial cooperation was developing between Hungary and Yugoslavia and that there were no open or disputed questions between the two countries.

The president of the SFRY Presidency informed the journalists that he had a thorough exchange of views with his hosts on topical international questions during which both sides confirmed the need to involve the entire international community in order to create the necessary conditions for the cessation of the arms race, the lessening of tension and the solution of international economic problems which today seriously burden the world and especially the developing countries.

Stambolic said that during the friendly and open talks there was also mention of certain differences which should not represent an obstacle to further promotion of relations and cooperation in the political, economic and all other fields, which the present development confirmed completely.

REPORT ON 31 MARCH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SESSION

LD312359 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (MTI) -- In its Thursday session the Hungarian Council of Ministers was informed on the implementation of laws concerning housing policy, the preparation for the settlement of rents, and relevant future plans.

The government accepted the report of the minister of agriculture and food on the preparations for 1983 and stated that last year's autumn and this year's spring agricultural work, was carried out in due time and at a high standard, and available material and technical resources together with average weather conditions resulted in targets being achieved.

The government discussed the report of the chairman of the National Material and Price Office on 1982's inspection of producers' and consumer's prices, and stated that there has been improvements. However, a more efficient price-control and more severe penalties for offences are required.

The government supported the recommendations of the National State Commission that a concerted development of social, technical and economic conditions for the widespread use of computer technology, particularly micro-computers, during the implementation of the central computer development programme, should be considered important.

SOVIET ACADEMICIAN ON HUNGARIAN AGRICULTURE

LD010004 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (MTI) -- One and a half years ago an inter-ministry council was established in the Soviet Union for a comprehensive study of the economic management system of the socialist countries and for making recommendations for the application of positive experiences in the Soviet economy. In an interview with a Hungarian economic political weekly FIGYELO, Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Research Institute for the Economy of Socialist World System of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said that the council had recently discussed the agricultural management system of Hungary. He expressed his view that it was remarkable that the Hungarian agriculture was able to meet plan targets solely on the basis of economic incentives and guidelines without aneed for agricultural establishments to comply with special directives or plan indexes.

Bogomolov said that a book written by a senior official of the Hungarian National Planning Office, Akos Balassa, on Hungary's economic management system will be soon published in the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to develop the economic strategies and the internal economic mechanism of the CEMA member states to ensure a higher economic growth. CEMA countries must be given incentives for closer cooperation among themselves. Price, credit and currency issues will play an important role in this process. Under more difficult world economic conditions the economy of the CEMA member states and their relations must be made more dynamic, said the academician.

PDRY DEFENSE MINISTER ARRIVES 30 MARCH

LD301106 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] The minister of defense of People's Yemen has arrived in Hungary. Brigadier General [rank as heard] Salih Muslih Qasim and the delegation he heads are paying an official, friendly visit to our country at the invitation of Army General Lajos Czinege, minister of defense.

PALESTINIAN LEADER MEETS WITH HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL

LD010052 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] The secretary general of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front today received Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who is in Budapest with a delegation. During the cordial meeting they exchanged opinions on the Middle East situation and other international questions.

The Palestinian politician has delivered a message of his people and the PLO on the occasion of the anniversary of our country's liberation. He said that the Palestinian people are pleased with the thought of being supported by the progressive forces of the world, by the socialist countries.

Speaking about the situation of the occupied lands he said that Israel has made terror into government policy and rules with the help of the most up-to-date U.S. weaponry. It is continuing its settlement policy causing immeasurable suffering to the local Arab population.

The Hungarian hosts confirmed at the meeting the solidarity of our people with the just fight of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian politician was also received by Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Varkonyi Receives Hawatimah

LD311553 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Peter Varkonyi, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, has received in Budapest Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of the Palestine, who is in Hungary at the head of a delegation. At the talks Peter Varkonyi reiterated that Hungary declares its solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, waged under the PLO's leadership.

CONFERENCE OF WORKER ACTIVISTS HELD 30 MARCH

LD302202 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Excerpts] Warsaw 30 March -- The nationwide conference of worker activists devoted to the country's current economic situation took place here today.

At the conference convened by the PUWP CC Political Bureau and the government Presidium, representatives of factory crews discussed tasks stemming from the government anti-inflation and austerity programmes.

The conference was opened by the First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers General Wojciech Jaruzelski who greeted the participants in the conference and invited guests in the name of the organisers.

Next reports were presented by member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Kazimierz Barcikowski and Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

Seats in the conference presidium were taken by: members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the PUWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers' Presidium with the First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the UPP [ZSL] Central Committee Roman Malinowski, Chairman of the DP Central Committee Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the Provisional National Council of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Jan Dobraczynski, and workers of several leading enterprises.

At the end of discussion at the nationwide conference of worker activists Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered a closing speech.

Jaruzelski Opens Meeting

LD301427 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0705 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Speech by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, at the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Citizens, comrades, esteemed participants: On behalf of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, I open the national conference of workers' aktiv. I cordially welcome the invited guests and all the participants of today's conference, which is of a special nature. This stems from its aim, the method of organization, and primarily from the constitution of its participants, as well as from the socioeconomic situation in which it is taking place.

The conference is being attended by 2,300 representatives of the basic -- that is, trade and locality -- sectors of the principal sociopolitical force of our country -- the working class. Half the participants are nonparty workers. We attach great importance to their active participation in the conference. Among those invited are representatives of enterprise union organizations and activists elected to workers' self-managements. There are also rationalizers, foremen, charge hands and a small group of work enterprise directors participating in the meeting. We are hoping that such a broad and representative body of participants will transmit the climate and essence of today's conference to their enterprises and that other sectors in the country will also be influenced.

We came out with the initiative of today's conference, relying on the collective wisdom of the working class and on its patriotic sense of responsibility. The first results already exist. During preparations, many interesting proposals and motions have already been put forward at voivodship meetings. A number of questions, doubts and critical assessments were also submitted. It will be necessary to refer to them during the conference in order to give answers to them or to take appropriate actions.

Esteemed participants: First, I will ask you to hear a report ready by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and a report read by Zbigniew Szalajda, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

We propose to conduct a plenary discussion until 1900. Because we are meeting in such a large group, because everybody present undoubtedly could contribute useful remarks and proposals, and because time will not permit all those wishing to take the floor in the discussion to do so, we propose to adopt the following procedural rules: The time of the speeches in the discussion should not exceed 10 minutes, and the participants who are prevented from taking the floor through lack of time are requested to submit statements to the minutes of the conference.

Irrespective of the speeches in the plenary discussion, we wish to collect the biggest possible number of motions and proposals, including detailed ones, concerning the matters that are the essence of today's conference. We therefore propose that questions, motions, and proposals which concern the problems of ministries be passed directly to their leaderships. In connection with this, during the extended lunch recess, the leaderships of the following ministries and appropriate departments of the Central Committee will be available to the meeting participants in the congress hall, in the lobbies of the congress hall, and on the first floor: Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs; Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Mining and Power; Ministery of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry; Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry, Ministry of Transport; Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy; Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services; Ministry of Forestry and Timber Industry; Office of Price Affairs; Office of Materials Economy; and Office of Maritime Economy. A representative of the Office of Letters and Inspections of the Central Committee will also be available on the first floor lobby of the congress hall. Matters and problems of an interventionary nature, as well as items of a more general nature, may be submitted there.

Proposals and motions concerning the matters of the party, the economy, the state administration, and others may be submitted to the secretariat of the conference in front of the conference presidium. I would like to stress that a special team consisting of employees of the Economic Department and the Organizational Department of the Central Committee will analyze the motions and proposals submitted from the floor as well as in any other form during today's conference. All those who submit a motion will receive confirmation of the submission of the motion and then reports on its implementation.

Radio and television will ensure extensive reports from the conference, and the central press will publish a discussion of today's speeches and statements submitted to the minutes. The information department of the Central Committee will prepare a bulletin which will contain the reports and speeches in the discussion. Comrades who submit their speeches to the minutes and the authors of motions submitted in the course of the conference will be listed. This bulletin will be received by all the participants of the conference. I ask that these proposals be adopted. [10 seconds of silence with background noise]

As I understand that these proposals have been adopted, I ask Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski to take the floor.

Barcikowski Speech

LD301256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0713 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the workers' aktiv conference in the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: Today's meeting is devoted to matters of the working class and its decisive role in the acceleration of the extrication of our country from its crisis.

We are meeting in the period when the government, after long-lasting consultations, and in accordance with the stance of the 10th Central Committee plenum of October last year, has sent to the Sejm the national economic and social plan for 1983-85 and detailed programs linked to the plan. In the coming weeks the Sejm will debate these important documents, and one can expect that the Sejm will approve their implementation.

One can say that we have found ourselves at a decisive phase in the implementation of the program for extricating our country from its economic crisis, for a gradual improvement in the living conditions of the working people and for putting Poland back on the path of development. The experience of the recent past proves clearly that it is not possible to count on improvement of one's life or the life of one's family when the state of the national economy is worsening. It is also an indisputed truth that we shall not improve the economy, and therefore our own lives, if we do not adopt a unified direction of action and if we do not realize it every day through wise and honest work. That is why our conference here today should be the start of a great workers' debate in all work enterprises on ways to improve the economic situation and of participation of the workforces in this work.

Whereas last year was the year of great political moves in the struggle for protecting our nation against the tragedy of civil war and abuse of Polish problems for the sake of imperialist interests, then this year will have to be the year of a resolute fight to overcome the economic crisis, to make permanent and to strengthen the expansion trends in production and activity aimed at a return to economic equilibrium. It will have to be the year for overcoming the harmful phenomena troubling our lives, such as speculation, lack of discipline, a fall in respect for results of one's work, wastefulness and theft.

We are presenting the plans and intentions of the state authorities to the working class. We count on their approval and active participation. We are doing this with deep conviction in the historic role of the working class in the life of the socialist state. It is the struggle of the Polish working class and the working class movement, which is currently celebrating its 100th anniversary, which gave birth to our people's state. The workers' and peasants' state, thanks to the alliance with the Soviet Union and its armed and political support, has returned to the nation its ancient western territories and gained the international recognition of our western border.

It is amazing that there are in Poland historians or people who question these achievements, people who know our history, the history of a gradual withdrawal through the centuries of the Polish state from western territories, who carefully and correctly noted every small step of the kings to stop this withdrawal, even if only for a short time. Yet in their public activity the same historians do not notice or do not draw conclusions from the fact that it was workers' and peasants' power that made possible a return to the western territories at a scale impossible to imagine for centuries. It was an achievement of revolutionary Poland to return to the Odra and Nysa, and workers and peasants managed these lands for the Polish nation. [passage indistinct]

One must ask the question: Why did no one, either in this country or abroad, protest the revisionist statements by Zimmermann and other revanchists? This is more proof that the struggle against socialist Poland was for them more important than national interests.

How were they to protest if they had to get money from their antisocialist activity? We appeal to the Polish working class, which, under the leadership of our party, was the creator of the revolutionary changes after the war and made these transformations permanent in the minds of most citizens. Even the most ardent enemies of our political system today will not dare question the correctness of the agrarian reform. Only a few dreamed about returning industry to private ownership, although there were some who were against making it easier for the children of peasants and workers to have access to higher education establishments. They were met by the rebuff of the working class.

In light of the mass advancement of young people from the working class and peasantry during the history of the Polish People's Republic, in light of the fact that they have reached the highest rungs of management and leadership of the state, it is sheer nonsense to proclaim, as the political opponents do, that there is a gulf between the state and society. This perfidious thesis is supposed to obscure the truth about the real division -- which is based on class -- into one that divides those who support socialism and those who oppose it.

It has to be said that opponents have partially succeeded in performing this mean political trick -- by calling for opposition against the people's state, they availed themselves of the still weak observance of the requirements of statehood and gained applause from those who may have found themselves in collision with the law at any time and for whatever reason, including our own errors. This juxtaposition provided our opponents with a focal point to launch attacks against the socialist state and to develop social demagogy and antisocialist activities. Numerous such illusions persist to this very day, impeding social activeness. They must be overcome through thorough political discussion. The overwhelming proportion of the working class, conscious of the role it plays -- a class that created this state -- is deeply interested in improving the state and in making it function efficiently.

There is more than just that. There is a good reason why they require efficiency of the state and the safeguarding of the socialist justice. We count in our efforts to overcome the crisis. We count on help in eliminating injustices and evil, in the name of consolidating socialist relations in society. We appeal to the working class, which accomplished in immortal feat -- rebuilding Poland after the war in unimaginably difficult conditions -- and which by absorbing millions of young people from the countryside into its ranks, became the creator of Poland's process of industrialization and its advancement in civilization.

The new Warsaw, the rebuilt Gdansk, Wroclaw, and Dzczecin, and hundreds of new estates around Poland's towns are monuments to the work of engineers and workers. Thousands of enterprises -- either rebuilt or newly built -- hospitals, schools, public amenities and facilities are monuments to this labor.

Everything we use are fruits of the workers' labor. You will not find a single man who is not morally indebted to those who carry out productive labor. Socialism is the only system in which labor constitutes an extraordinarily important criterion of a man's worth. We must restore to labor the place it deserves in the system of values. The way toward this entails respect for those who work well in their workplaces, educational establishments and in the social activity field.

Political opponents, making use of the dissatisfaction of the working people, negated in their attacks against the party and the socialist system everything that has ever been accomplished in People's Poland. Nothing really was done as it should have been done, or else there was no need for it altogether. Those who either did nothing at all or who did precious little and had clean hands -- because their hands were unsullied by work -- shouted their heads off the loudest. They knew no restraint in formulating demagogic demands because they themselves never positively resolved a single case in the life of the public.

However, their legacy, as far as a proportion of the population is concerned, is the erroneous conviction that freedom bordering on anarchy is more important than organization and discipline; that everyone has a right to it, irrespective of what one does for a living.

Their conviction holds: never mind hat quantities are actually produced, there should be an abundance of everything because the government is for giving.

This could not but lead -- and lead it did -- toward a general slackening in the areas of production and markets; toward undermining the very sense of work and its purposes that can only be attained through well-organised labor -- that is to say, a process of greater satisfaction of needs through an increase in the production output.

Since we are all perfectly well aware that we do not get anything out of thin air and that it is not likely to be the case that we possess only as much as we have produced by our own labor, let us therefore reflect on how to safeguard the implementation of the 3-year plan and how to prevent inflation.

Let us take advantage of the rich experience, both good and bad, of both the authorities and the whole working class. In this great debate of the workforces on ways for coming out of the crisis, our party organizations should lead, should distinguish themselves by their vigor, political maturity and knowledge of the economy. Our party organizations have the full ideological and moral right to do this. Our party, because of its social makeup and its Marxist-Leninist ideology, is the workers' party. Nobody can deny this. In the contemporary world there is no other ideology, no one has ever published such an ideology, which can better express the interests of the working class or show the way to realize such interests than Marxism-Leninism. No one in Poland has so far announced any other realistic program for extricating the country from its crisis and repairing the republic, apart from our party and the allied parties and Catholic groups standing on the foundations of socialism. We shall be pleased to be acquainted with other proposals. What is more, we are ready to use them if they are realistic and in accordance with the principles of socialism.

We take into consideration that in the debate there will again be voices saying there are known situations when our party made mistakes. We do not avoid the examination and correction of these errors. There has not been and is not any other political force in Poland which would, with the same severity, with participation of nonparty people, carry out self-criticism and draw conclusions from it. One could even deliberate, if such self-criticism did not reach the state of self-flagellation, on whether the deeds of these self-critics -- who most often did it on behalf of others but not themselves -- did not cross out the historic achievements of our party. At the same time we are fully aware that those who do not draw conclusions from the difficult experiences of the party are deeply mistaken and, avoiding the teachings of the ninth congress, are ready to return to errors, to being conceited, to disregarding the opinion of others.

We have no intention of agreeing to this. At its ninth congress our party carried out a self-evaluation and adopted a program of changes in party life and a program of state reforms. It is in the essence of this program that there must be a pledge and a striving toward a full agreement of actions based on the interests of the working class and socialist Poland. We are working in this spirit and we want to work better and more effectively. We cannot, however, give or promise more than is possible and justified by the size of production. The workers party, as the leader of the working class and the leading force in the construction of socialism, must act reliably and must appreciate and take into consideration immediate expectations, but at the same time never lose the awareness of the capabilities of the economy, and in particular [word indistinct] what must be done for the development of the country. Please remind yourselves that whenever the party promised more than it could deliver it always ended in a profound crisis of confidence.

That is why we are submitting for debate the documents which contain difficult, but currently essential, proposals. It is necessary to gain understanding and support for them because in the final reckoning it would not be against, but in accordance with the interests of the working class.

Esteemed comrades, the main subject of our debate is the economy and actions aimed at accelerating extrication from the crisis. Let us note, however, that this will take place in a new situation, created by the introduction of the economic reform, the forming of self-management in enterprises, and the development of new trade unions. In this way, in accordance with the resolutions of the ninth party congress, the legal and political foundations have been created for the development of workers' democracy on a wider-than-ever scale.

It is my impression that the importance of these facts is not known well enough by the community, and perhaps underestimated by the working class itself.

This can only be explained, perhaps, by the novelty of solutions and by the initial phase of their implementation. The once famous postulate of the reform of management is being implemented despite martial law and the very complex economic situation, which have a negative influence on the supplies of everything. These difficulties -- existing irrespective of the reform, and caused among others things by profound limitation of imports from capitalist countries -- are making the situation exceptionally difficult for the majority of enterprises. Some blame the economic reform for this. Others justify their negative attitude to the reform with increased prices of products. But if there was no reform then the shortages of supplies would be greater and the prices of products would also have to be reviewed.

The phenomenon of price increases is complex. We must be aware that enterprises must define the prices of their products on the basis of the costs of production. If these costs are too high -- for instance, due to wastefulness or raising wages irrespective of productivity -- then one should complain to enterprises and introduce action to force an improvement in efficiency and price formulation methods.

However, it is not possible to ask an independent enterprise to sell its output at prices which are lower than is justified by the costs incurred, since who is going to cover the difference? After all, on its own proceeds, the enterprise is supposed to finance the replacement of capital assets and the necessary development. The main thing is that the enterprise should have opportunities facilitating creative initiative which will yield profit for the enterprise and society alike. It was not possible over a short period of time to implement the principle that prices of all goods and services should be based upon costs. This would have entailed a high growth of prices, which is why official prices were introduced on a large proportion of goods and services, and here the necessity of having them subsidised from the state budget was taken into account. The state, likewise, retained control over the distribution of the raw materials and goods which are in short supply and which play an important role as far as production of other goods is concerned, or which are of basic importance as far as supplies to the population are concerned.

This was essential, but no one is trying to make a virtue out of this. The rationing of some goods for the population is not, in our view, a virtue, but a sad necessity. Wherever possible, we are beginning to eliminate rationing.

During the process of introducing the reform there also occurred mistakes in the regulations concerning certain principles of the functioning of enterprises. Unfortunately, cases where enterprises abused their price fixing powers were not isolated. There were also irregularities in the distribution of finances received by wages and development funds. In each and every case it must be appraised as an abuse of power so as to gain unwarranted material benefits. That is why it was found necessary to alter the regulations on which some decisions of the enterprises were to have been based, so as to prevent undeserved benefits from accruing. This is just and accords with the resolutions of the 10th Central Committee plenum.

Appraising the results of the reform so far, one has to bear in mind that a mere 15 months have elapsed since its introduction. This period is not long enough to bring to the surface all its positive results. One has to state with sorrow that over this period not all workforces took the trouble to familiarize themselves with the requirements of independence or with what is in the interests of the worker himself and the workforce as a whole. The time available to acquaint oneself with these things should be shortened through better educational work.

Uppermost, as far as the reform is concerned, is the issue of releasing the creative initiative of engineering and technical cadres and workers in resolving an enterprise's problems, improving management, increasing labor productivity, making changes in the structure of employment or ensuring better quality of output.

The reform's financial system safeguards benefits for enterprises and workforces which improve management efficiency and attain better production results. It is here that sources of finance for the enterprise and the workers have to be found.

Independence and self-management is the chance the reform gives to people who have initiative, people that are good managers. However, this chance can easily be wasted if everything in the enterprise remains as of old, while profit is sought via speculation on prices, subsidies, tax concesssions and so forth.

I will not exaggerate too much if I say that success of the reform is in the hands of the work forces and their managements. If there is an improvement in results of enterprises, results arrived at by way of thorough calculations, then this testifies better than anything else that the reform is making progress and that it was purposeful to have introduced it. We cannot permit ourselves to have the sense of the reform distorted, since it has become an irreversible fact of socioeconomic life.

The work force's self-management constitutes an integral constituent part of the reform and of the general political solutions following the ninth congress. Workers' councils are gradually commencing their work. However, this process is not free from problems, problems which are a residue of the political struggle imposed on us by our opponents who strove to take over power in the enterprises, to eliminate the leading cadres, and subsequently to remove party organizations from enterprises. Our opponents left no shadow of doubt as to their intentions and goals.

It has to be said that those who think we have already forgotten this, who think it will be possible in the changed circumstances to attain what the introduction of martial law put an end to, are grievously mistaken. There will be no assent to activities that run counter to the principles of the system and the law in the field of competences of workers' self-management. We appeal to workforces -- in the interests of self-management's development -- to eliminate small-time amateur politicians and political speculators from self-management bodies.

On the one hand, all those who wish to work constructively within these bodies to further good management and work forces' benefits and an all-round development of the enterprise, all those who gained the confidence of their fellow workers, can find their own area of activity within the self-management, irrespective of their former trade-union allegiance. Mature decisions and an improvement in economic results will constitute the yardstick with which to measure the efficiency of work done by the self-management and its activists.

We understand the fears of management cadres, surfacing here and there in the face of budding self-management activities. The memory is still fresh of the unforgivable attacks of extremists against the enterprise's leading cadres. However, let us note that this was a consequence of hostile political activities carried out under the slogans of self-management and slogans alone.

The director needs wise self-management; self-management has a need for a wise director. This is a truth that will surely be confirmed in life, even though help is needed here. However, one has to assume that work and management are done jointly with the self-management body. This has to be observed. This means that things and solutions are jointly agreed on.

This means that accords and decisions are reached jointly. No one should feel ashamed by discussions with self-management and by attempts to gain its understanding and approval prior to decisions affecting the enterprise being taken. This must be done before such decisions are taken.

Three months ago the trade union bill became law. Our party, way back in October last year in a resolution passed by the 10th Central Committee plenum, outlined its attitude toward the newly emerging trade unions. At that time we stated in the resolution: Without self-governing trade unions independent of the administration, trade unions which cooperate with the party in defending the rights and interests of all the working people and in defending the socialist system, the sociopolitical system in our country would neither be democratic nor efficient. We declared at that time that the party would cooperate with the unions and that it would support them in just causes.

We stated that secretaries of the factory committees, primary and section organizations would not fulfill within the unions functions that would give them a casting vote. Today we can confirm our position taken at that time and our interest in the development of the new trade unions. We are deeply convinced that they are needed by their members, and by the whole workforce to shape healthy labor relations in the enterprises. Union organizations which are coming into being have commenced fulfilling these functions.

I think one can expect that irrespective of the extensive activities within the enterprises by their members and the work force, the union organizations will already this year fulfill an important role in organizing vacations for the workers and leisure for children and young people. In the next few days, following consultations in 1,000 of the largest enterprises, the Council of State will forward to the Sejm a bill on the social inspection of work. The bill provides for extensive trade union rights in the field of labor safety and hygiene. We expect that trade unions, being concerned with the interests of the working people, will also actively participate in the implementation of the economic reform and in the process of improving production results, which is what all the working people needed so much.

There are nearly 2 million members of trade unions. The question is often pondered: Is it a lot or not? Bearing in mind that this is only a start, it is not a small number. If Polish unions, after 3 months of legal activity, have reached a membership among the working people which approximates the membership of the U.S. trade unions, which was attained only after many years, then one conclusion that should be drawn from this is that the leaders of American unions should not lecture the Poles on how to conduct the trade union activities -- even more so because they do not leave a shadow of a doubt that they themselves identify with the most reactionary circles of capital. They were doing a lot, and still are, in order to inflame activity against socialism in Poland in the name of so-called trade union freedoms. There is no skimping as far as money for these aims goes.

Trade union activists who represent the best organized factories and plants have put forward an initiative to bring forward the deadline of national congresses. As is known, the law provides for such an eventuality in 1984, but authorizes the Council of State to agree to an earlier date. The Social Consultative Commission of the Council of State in charge of trade unions expressed a positive opinion about the proposals put forward by activists from mining and steelworking industries and agriculture and by teachers, the state motor vehicle transport enterprise, and some other activists to agree to national congresses this year. We will support this opinion, because it will speed up the process whereby trade unions begin to occupy the places they deserve in the state and in relations with ministries and the government, and because it will elevate their social standing. It will create better opportunities for consulting on important decisions with competent trade union authorities.

The Council of Ministers has already adopted a resolution on the principles of consultation of draft decisions with the trade unions. We are therefore resolutely following the course mapped out by the ninth congress and are expanding the workers democracy in accordance with the movement and principles of socialism.

How significant in these matters is the attitude of the hostile underground and its foreign sponsors? In the past they shouted about the need for economic reform. Even worse, in the program of the former Solidarity there were demands for the free shaping of prices in accordance with supply and demand.

At present they not only attack the economic reform, but also speculate on the dissatisfaction of the workers with changes in prices and count on an explosion of social dissatisfaction caused by those prices. It is necessary to ask: What would the level of prices be today in Poland if the state gave up price controls, if subsidies for some sectors of production were given up and the prices for all goods were, in fact, shaped freely according to the market forces? What would the situation of the lowest-paid look like then, and so on and so forth?

There is a special moral significance to the struggle of the underground and its allies against the workers self-government and new trade unions. We all remember their vicious and brutal struggle to eliminate other trade unions and gain a full monopoly for themselves. A lot could be said about this by the activists of the former branch and autonomous trade unions. The attempts to intimidate the activists of the new trade unions, which occur today here and there, including the intimidation of former Solidarity members involved in the renewal of the trade union movement, are nothing but the continuation of the above-mentioned methods. This will not be allowed to be done without consequences: an end will have to be put to this.

The extremists have announced the boycott of the new trade unions. This boycott results, in their thinking, from the assumption that if the new trade unions are not hostile to socialism, they should not exist at all. It is a glaring instance of arrogance toward the working people. The trade unions are, after all, needed by the working people as they serve the cause of the defense of their long-term interests and look after the socialist character of relations in our country. In the trade unions there is room for everyone -- irrespective of the earlier membership -- who acknowledges the principles of the political system of the Polish People's Republic.

Can anyone who is reasonable argue that it would ever be possible to have the pre-martial law situation again and to recreate the dangers to Poland and its citizens which were caused by the extremists at that time. Let us recall that they themselves stated that as far as the definition of a trade union goes [words indistinct] as they aspired to the role of the so-called social movement.

Esteemed comrades, it is pointed out in the draft programs which have been submitted that growth in production is the most important problem in overcoming the crisis. This is a truth, a fundamental truth, but please note that around this issue a lot of misunderstandings and contradictory evaluations have gathered. Some say that it is impossible to lift the Polish economy out of the crisis. Many honest people troubled by problems at work and difficulties in shopping become apathetic and look toward the future with pessimism. The fundamental question is, therefore: Can we and have we begun to come out of the crisis [word indistinct]. Let us recall that today we produce less than we produced in 1979. It is true that then we had large imports on credit and the indebtedness of the country grew, and this affected the size of the national production. But nobody can deny that we were then able to produce more goods. The aim is to achieve what was done in the past. This should not be beyond our strength and abilities. The conditions in the economy have changed: That is true. But please look to what extent they have really changed [words indistinct].

The Polish land is as rich as it has ever been. There are ample minerals available and the soil is just as good. Many of our problems during the crisis resulted from the fact that the enemy paralyzed extraction of minerals, mostly coal. [words indistinct] The contract purchasing of agricultural produce was also paralyzed. Right now the situation is different. [words indistinct] The crisis in the extraction of coal and other minerals has been overcome. Thanks to the work of the miners, we are fulfilling the national demand for coal and other national minerals and we are gradually reconstructing their exports. Nobody is affected by a lack of electricity.

Today we set the task of thrifty management of these raw materials not (?to use) more of them than is essential, not more than other nations use per unit of production. The mastering of this extravagance depends on us, on the people.

Contrary to the forecasts of famine and chaos in the relations between town and country, agriculture assured food during martial law in quantities that guaranteed the rationing needs. No sensible person can say that people are going hungry. It is true that there are not sufficient quantities of all goods, but after all the food item market is undergoing gradual improvement. We do have problems in agriculture, in the food economy, but we also have distinct signs of production revival, especially after the decisions of the joint session of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee on agricultural matters. The interest of farmers in purchasing land has grown. The positive trends in animal rearing have been consolidated,

If weather conditions prove good this year, then we can expect a certain improvement in the food economy. In order to create permanent foundations for progress, it is necessary to implement consistently the resolutions of the party and the ZSL. This also requires better agriculture supplies through industrial production. We want to -- and must -- do this.

Second, Polish national assets did not diminish during the crisis, including that part which constitutes the basis for production. Moreover, even in the years of the breakdown in production, new production units -- very necessary to the economy -- were handed over.

As the production of domestic raw materials is reconstructed based on deliveries from the socialist countries, a gradual reconstruction is taking place in the production of the processing industry. This is already evident in many branches. Present in this hall are representatives of enterprises that were confronted in 1981 and the beginning of 1982 by shutdowns caused by the lack of raw materials and confronted by the need for a reduction in the workforce by thousands of people. Many of these enterprises are presently working at full steam and are looking for people to work. Not all branches of industry are yet in this situation, but the movement forward has begun. If we better exploit the possessed production assets and raw materials, then -- adding better work to this -- progress will take place (?more) quickly.

Of course, there is no shortage of difficulties in industry. There are serious problems with supplies, organization and coproduction -- I could go on listing them. However, let us not allow ourselves to be buried by trouble. We must cope. We cannot forget the need for a systematic reconstruction of production assets in order to modernize equipment. Today we are still overusing these assets because the increase in the proportion of national income earmarked for consumption has reduced the resources for investment to such a degree that in some branches of industry we are investing less than would be required by the reconstruction of spent equipment.

Such a state of affairs cannot continue for long because it threatens us with regression. As the produced income [dochod wytwarzany] grows, it will be necessary to increase the reconstruction investment in industry. This is envisaged to a certain degree by the 3-year plan. Greater investments (?will be needed) in the following years.

Third, we Poles have not become a less capable nation or one that does not know how to work. True, in the period of difficulties and tensions, we had a phenomenon not equaled in the world. I am thinking of the early retirement of hundreds of thousands of workers. This was, among others, a measure of fear for their future which at the time had seized people. We can well remember the not-so-distant times when a worker who reached the retirement age sought to remain at work, to continue performing his vocation. This used to be rather normal.

It is expected that following the latest government decisions, some of the pensioneers needed for the economy -- we are thinking of young ones -- will return to their vocations. Let us note that during this time, new generations of young people have arrived -- generally well-trained in the vocations although frequently lost in the sense of personal and social attitudes.

However, it is true that as a result of all the solutions -- such as free Saturdays and extending leave for various vocational groups -- through a rise in absenteeism at work and for other reasons, the total labor pool in our country has fallen by about 10 percent. We work less by that much and it is a concrete fact.

From their point of view, the good workers are right who say to us that the fall in work productivity is incomprehensible to them because they are now working as hard and effectively as before and the country's production is falling. The point is that except for certain industries, you all work, but not everybody works better during the time envisaged forwork. [sentence as heard]

Less work and inferior work is often being done. This contributes to the fall in work productivity and is one of the causes of the large-scale worsening in work quality. Only during the last few months has a certain improvement in work productivity taken place.

If, as nobody doubts, we want to come out of the crisis and to increase the amount of necessary goods, it is necessary to cause earnings in enterprises to be dependent on the work and factual production, so that a good worker is valued and a bad one is critically assessed, so that changes advantageous to productive workers take place in the enterprise structure of employment. It is also necessary to constantly improve the organization of work and to raise its discipline. Whereby in the age of the reform one cannot keep looking to the top, this has to be done in the enterprise on local initiative and with social support of that part of the workforce which values its enterprise and understands their interests, to improve the bad state of affairs.

Someone may say that here is the party going back to that which is old. Again, a secretary is talking about production, work productivity, organization, discipline. Well, yes. But in the last few years in Poland, so much has been done for anarchy and disorganization -- effects of which today we all have to overcome -- that it is time to become aware of the fact that without good work in a well-organized enterprise, there will be neither an improvement in living conditions nor progress in the country. Those are fundamental truths for economic life, like the Ten Commandments for believers. I have not yet met a believer who would think that the Ten Commandments are now of less value because they are older than Christianity and are still being repeated by the masses. The point is, the truths must be introduced, and this demands activity by the entire party. Enterprise managements should be induced to do the same, as well as self-management, trade unions and working people in general. The working class must first be convinced about this.

There is also a fourth factor favorable for us: Socialist Poland has not been left alone in the face of mounting troubles. Over the entire difficult period it made use, and still does, of the stable economic cooperation with socialist countries [words indistinct].

The Soviet Union and its colossal possibilities is playing the greatest of roles. It particularly concerns deliveries, on credit, of raw materials and market goods needed by us.

If there was a break up in these relations, consciously provoked by our opponents and their bosses, then the Polish economy would crash with all the consequences for the living standards of the people and the nation's existence. We will consolidate and develop our links with the Soviet economy, and with all socialist countries, because it creates firm foundations for the development of the Polish economy. So this cooperation can develop without interference, it is necessary to scrupulously fulfill agreements and accords concluded between our enterprises and Soviet establishments. It is in our interest to become a solid economic partner as soon as possible. Polish workers have grounds to express appreciation for help rendered to us by the Soviet Union, for friendly understanding of our difficulties [words indistinct].

Naturally in the sphere of our economy and possibilities there appear, independently of us, unfavorable conditions for faster restoration of production. These include debts in capitalist countries, sanctions applied by the American Administration, and, under its pressure, by main capitalist countries of Europe.

In the seventies our economy was strongly linked with the capitalist market. Too strongly, in a sense that [words indistinct] the end of which was in the hands of capitalist politicians, and it was they who decided when the noose should be tightened. Even by the end of the eighties [as received] and during 1981 there was a drop in credits granted to Poland by private banks.

An uncertain sociopolitical situation, a fall in production and, following that a decrease in exports and inflow of currencies and speedy deterioration in the repayments ability of our country, caused us to become a non-credit-worthy partner for the capitalist financial world. The reaction was a rapid limitation in credits.

Introduction of sanctions against Poland cut off the possibility of gaining credits guaranteed by the government. Decisions on introduction of sanctions had an unequivocal political and class character. It was decided to punish us for the fact that civil war was prevented in Poland, thus frustrating the expectations of the imperialist circles for burning Polish fire in the center of Europe, inside the socialist camp.

There were further-reaching calculations attached to the sanctions. The authors of the sanctions hoped that our weakened economy would not be able to bear isolation from the capitalist world, would break down completely, and the forces of the Polish state would not be able to control any economic and political chaos. These are not our inventions. These aims were voiced publicly by influential American politicians and were supported by traitors of Polish origins. These traitors are still repeating this, although the numbers of listeners treating their opinions seriously are decreasing. They cannot treat such opinions seriously because the Polish economy and the Polish community has withstood the test of brutal sanctions. It was not an easy test. For instance, withdrawal of American credits for fodder purchases caused a collapse in poultry production and badly influenced the level of pork production. A number of our industrial enterprises found themselves in a very difficult situation. It is an irrefutable fact, however, that our economy today shows an ability to adapt to the limitations caused by the sanctions, and after a temporary shock has found a way toward gradual reconstruction and increased production. Since the beginning of August of last year the level of industrial production gradually -- although unfortunately slowly -- has been increasing.

The hopes of the imperialist politicians to gain, through sanctions, what was not achieved before the introduction of martial law also diminished. We have the full right to credit this to the goodness of our community and goodness of our economy. After the sanctions a lesson will remain -- a lesson not just for Poland -- that the economic relations with the capitalist countries can be, at a moment convenient for them, used for political blackmail against a socialist country. This changes the character of the economic relations in the world and obliterates the possibility of counting on the loyal and lasting economic cooperation with capitalist countries, who have now included economic war in their arsenals as a means of struggle against socialism. But there is also a lesson to be learned from the sanctions: One must aim at long-term dependence on one's own raw materials and own technical and technological capabilities.

Highest appreciation should go to engineers and technicians who relatively quickly gave the economy solutions which partly freed us from importing many materials from the capitalist countries. However, this should be treated as a good start to a process that requires systematic and persistent activities over a long period of time. This is an important order, but it is also a great chance for the development of Polish technological thought. As far as the present situation is concerned, there are no signs that imports from the capitalist countries will increase to any considerable degree during the 3-year plan. Payments of interest devour a proportion of the value of our exports to the capitalist countries.

Difficult negotiations are under way with private banks regarding postponement of our payments. We neglect no opportunity to improve our situation in financial markets. However, we must be aware that the key to this situation is to be found within the country. Today, and in the future, it will be necessary to increase production for export and keep imports from [word indistinct] capitalist within very cost-concious limits. Only along this path, no matter how difficult it may yet prove to be, will it be possible to set about restoring the trustworthiness of our economy and to regain freedom of action.

Esteemed comrades, in essence at today's session we are presenting a proposal for social accord on matters of the economy and living standard of our citizens. There is no one who would not wish to have a more affluent life in a secure and developing country. An agreement in needed, not so much on the goals, since these we share in common, but an agreement is essential concerning the means, the application of which will bring us nearer to the goal. As I said, these proposals include means that will require temporary renunciations or limits, which will not be popular. But they are necessary.

Comrades, have you noticed how much is expected from the state, and how little respect is given to its demands, which are based on the interests of citizens? Price policy is a taboo subject in Poland. Why then, one may ask, do the Polish authorities risk price changes at all if it is known in advance that the response will be opposition and dissatisfaction? On the face of it there is nothing easier -- for the authorities and for the citizens -- not to ask [words indistinct]. The authorities bring up the problem of prices because they must do it. They must do it to create even minimal order in the economy. If the price is to be an expression of the cost of products manufactured, let us note that the center announces prices for some goods, but these prices are not set by the center. The prices are set by the manufacturer, and should remain in proper relation to the cost of production. This is an obvious truth, but social criticism also applies to the shaping of wages, taxes, and other [word indistinct]. It is understandable that no one likes to reach for his own pocket, but there are situations in which this is necessary, and what's more, it is in the individual's interest and in the general interest to do so.

One must repeat that the prosperity of the citizens depends on the prosperity of the entire economy. If we do not observe demands dictated by economic laws, then we cannot blame anyone for widening economic chaos. Today we are facing an unregulated economy. Sectors that are in balance are the exceptions. Without gradual restoration of the state of balance in market production we will continue to be stuck with the rationing system. We will have empty shops and people waiting in vain for goods. Can this satisfy anyone? Can we agree with the prospect of life in such conditions? Of course not, and that is why it is necessary to remove the causes of this situation. The anti-inflation program given to you pertains to this problem. The implementation of this program will bring us nearer to a state of market equilibrium. I say, bring us nearer, because we do not think it possible to attain this equilibrium completely in a short period of time. What are the main elements of this program?

We regard an increase in output and in supplies of goods to the market as the most important direction of action. However, I think that industry, of all the areas, is aware that this will not happen overnight. The scope of the increase in output that is required will be limited by quantities of raw materials, by industrial production capacities and labor productivity. In order to expand production for the market, we envisage that it will start, if only as a sideline, in enterprises that produce capital goods. This will yield certain effects, dependent on whether our hearts are in the right place when we begin to set about these tasks in these enterprises. However, it certainly will not suffice to create an abundance of goods. That is why it will be necessary simultaneously to curtail payments of money and to stop unjustified payments. This does not mean that we intend to halt the growth of wages. It does mean that wage increases must be linked to increases in labor productivity and hence with increases -- may they be as big as possible -- in production for the market and for export.

We also envisage an expansion of payroll deductions to lessen the pressure on the market in this way and to decrease the state budget deficit that today is large. This is because persistently high state budget deficits entail increasing the money supply while the currency already in circulation is not fully matched by a corresponding quantity of goods. It is therefore necessary to increase the budget revenue and to decrease its expenditure -- that is to say, to introduce budget savings, which is precisely what the savings program provides for.

The third direction of action is the prices policy. It is not the authorities' intention to abuse the instrument of prices in their desire to attain market equilibrium. Areas of protected prices on goods that are of basic significance for the population -- even when this requires subsidies for industry and agriculture -- will be maintained. However, we cannot pass off as normal and reconcile ourselves to the fact that enterprises sell a higher category of produce at lower prices which are purchased from the shops and then sold off at considerably higher prices, bringing enormous profits to the speculators. The real consumer thus pays a higher price, but not to the state, rather to the speculator. The latter gains the profits of this (?transaction). (?This must be changed).

We have provided for means to counter the practice of inflating prices and of fixing them so that they bear no relation to what is economically justified by the industrial enterprises themselves.

It is also proposed to freeze temporarily the negotiable prices in the trade between enterprises and thus exclude for some time the influence of supply prices on the increase in production costs. Altogether therefore the program envisages a kind of (?freeze) on the prices sector and the limitation of price changes to these that are absolutely essential. It is necessary to emphasize strongly the need to lower production costs [words indistinct]. Counteracting inflation must and can be reviewed in connection with these three areas -- that is, size of supply of goods to the market, incomes and prices. If we do not implement the plan of market supplies, then inflation will worsen and prices will increase, whether this is desirable or not. As we know from experience, price increases stimulate pressure on wages and cause increases in incomes, which again results in price increases. We then enter the spiral of wage and price increases which leads into a blind alley. Consumption defines the amount of goods on the market. Consumption should not outstrip the production [words indistinct]. Inflation is nothing other than the proof of the lack of social agreement [passage indistinct] it is necessary to observe strict financial discipline everywhere and always.

The nature of market imbalance, when demand is higher than supply, without fail gives a privileged position on the market to those who have goods at their disposal [words indistinct] therefore stimulates price hikes, speculation and so on. It brings with it demoralization of the community as those who have the goods draw unjustified benefits from them. [passage indistinct] It is therefore necessary to combat speculation. However, it is necessary to change the conditions that give birth to speculation. It is necessary to restore the market equilibrium so that everyone can purchase what his or her earnings will allow as a matter of course and not as a special privilege. Such are the advantages of attaining market equilibrium for all the working people.

There is one more thing. We cannot say that speculation is necessarily rampant in the entire small-scale manufacturing industry and handicrafts. By far the biggest propotion work honestly, providing the market with goods and services worth many billions. Consumers need them. Ill thoughtout activities have resulted in a drop in the number of handicraft manufacturers and small-scale manufacturing industry shops, and we will not gain from this. In addition, market shortages grow more acute. On the other hand, excessive incomes in this sector can very easily -- and should be -- countered by way of taxation. As for income obtained dishonestly, several legal measures will be applied here.

Esteemed comrades, in my speech I have focused attention on providing the thesis that things can be better in Poland -- and that it will happen -- if only we start thinking and working like real managers. I am deeply convinced of this. I will say more. Surely we in this hall are not alone in thinking that there is no other way out and that (?things must get better). But precisely because I am convinced that our common actions will be successful, I wish to ask the question: Can things be worse in Poland? Well, they can. Things can be worse if internal enemies and foreign centers succeed in their intentions and new disturbances break out. This would create new divisions and mean a waste of public energy, so much needed today in the area of combating the crisis and of improving the situation in the economy.

Our economy, which in the past has taken a few good knocks, today requires calm and prudent work so that normal and full production rhythm is restored. The inflammation in this area of the economy of new political battles is tantamount to strangling it. Things can be worse if as a result of widespread opposition or pathy we fail to implement the savings plan and thus fail to fulfill the plan of material production and to put our finances in order. Things can be worse if we fail to implement the anti-inflation program, if we fail to curtail to reasonable limits the wage and price spiral and if we fail to increase confidence in the Polish zloty.

In conditions of rampant inflation, no reform can operate. (?Financial stimulae) and savings lose their sense. Prices become something that is largely irrelevant while speculation becomes a normal phenomenon. Things can get worse if we fail to come to grips with the signs of social demoralization. This requires severe legal measures and, what is even more important, an unequivacal and universal condemnation of the guilty by public opinion, in educational establishments, workplaces, shops and homes, in family and social gatherings.

If we are conscious of these dangers and if we oppose them in unison we will save ourselves from a worse situation. If in order to increase output and put the national economy in order we use the trumps which are at our disposal and if we act with persistence and conviction, we shall accelerate our emergence from the crisis and attain satisfaction from our labor more quickly. Without any exaggeration, this struggle is for a socialist Poland where there is order and good managment, where through their organizations and institutions the citizens participate in determining the destiny of the nation and that of themselves. [applause]

Szalajda Addresses Workers Aktiv

LD301825 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0837 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Speech by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda at the workers' aktiv conference in the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science -- live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades: Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has described in his speech today's sociopolitical situation in our country and its reflection among work forces. Against this background I would like to present the economic situation of the country, the economic conditions under which we are working and the most important aims whose implementation depends, above all, on the work of the work forces in question.

The first year of halting trends of decline is behind us. The first extremely important year of the implementation of the economic reform is behind us, too. The conditions under which this process started were unfavorable to the highest degree. Today we can state that the pessimistic forecasts of those who prophesied that production would fall by 12-15 percent in 1982, that we would not manage to reverse the consequences thereof, would break down were not fulfilled.

Thanks to the wise and responsible attitude of the overwhelming majority of the workforces, the process of economic stabilization has begun. In the second half of last year, thanks to deliveries of raw and other materials from the Soviet Union, among others, industrial production grew systematically compared to the previous year. This process started with 1 percent half way through last year and attained 11 per cent during the second half of the year. Over the whole year the decline in production, which amounted to 8 percent after the first half of the year, was reduced to just under 2 percent.

How did we start 1983? What kind of phenomena were predominant at the turn of 1982-83? What kind of positive and negative trends manifested themselves? The positive ones, I have already mentioned, consist of a further increase in production which during the first 2 months of the current year grew by about 15 percent as compared to the analoguous period last year. The production of construction-assembly enterprises increased, and the amount of goods that were transported also grew during that period. The situation in the vital areas of the economy has been put under control -- that is, in the power industry and railway transport. However, an increase in productivity did not accompany the quantitive increase in production.

An increase in the amount of money on the market accompanied by insufficient supplies of goods to the market creates market tensions and conditions for price rises and, sometimes, even a necessity for them.

Demands to obtain pay raises as well as social benefits occur in such a situation. To satisfy those, on the other hand, would mean to pay out the money without backing and, ultimately, would have to lead to further price increases which burden the whole of the public. The mechanism of winding up the inflationary spiral is in its essence as simple as that. The effects of inflation are most painfully felt by those groups of the public whose earnings are in the middle and lower brackets. Inflation is not, and cannot be, acceptable as a normal phenomenon and, in particular, not by work forces.

The government's anti-inflation program does not set out to eliminate inflationary phenomena totally. This would be an unrealistic task. The years to come will consist of the strenuous restoration of the market balance, to halt the speed with which inflation is growing and to limit it considerably. The issue of great importance in the anti-inflation program is to increase market supply to the maximum extent, [passage indistinct] The increase in market supplies in 1983 is to amount to about 6 percent, while an increase of market supplies of industrial goods will amount to 9 percent. During 3 years an increase in market supplies in general is envisaged to attain the level of 20 to 20.5 percent and supplies of industrial goods 27.5 to 30 percent.

I recently received the information that among the work force of the Gdansk Lenin shipyard there have been moods of dissatisfaction concerning the division of the export bonus. The differences in the size of individual bonuses were about 3-7,000 zloty. According to my information the work force believes -- although I doubt whether it is a common view -- that the size of the bonus should be the same for everybody. A question comes into mind: Who is spreading views of this kind and why? In whose interest would this be? What kind of incentive for work and management effectiveness is it possible to attain in this way? However, there are enterprises that are going ahead and introducing a suitable and effective system of incentives.

There is no need to conceal the fact that the conditions under which our industry will have to work during the coming period will not be easy. At present difficulties in market supplies and shortages in manpower are felt most painfully by work forces. As far as supplies are concerned the most difficult situation occurs in the sphere of imported supplies. We know what we can count on as regards imports from the first payments zone, and from the Soviet Union in particular. It is more difficult to define import possibilities from the capitalist countries. The size of our imports will be determined by the size of exports. In this sphere we have examples of enterprises which in 1982 realized their export tasks well, despite the crisis.

An enterprise must create an internal system of incentives that would make separate organizational units -- groups of workers and individual workers -- interested in increasing production, improving quality, saving and so forth. It is also necessary to create in enterprises a competitive system of remuneration in direct production and [word indistinct] so that without exerting any pressure or issuing orders, a movement of employees from the administration and other groups of employees to direct production would take place. This time, despite the views that are often propagated, a good example has come from above. The Central Economic Administration has been reduced by almost 30 percent thanks to the elimination of some ministries and the merging of others. We eliminated united industrial enterprises [zjednoczenia] and the newly set up associations [zrzeszenia] employ less than half of the staff employed in united industrial enterprises. However, in this sphere the economic reform stopped at that level, and this was the case for a long time. Certain industrial enterprises recently have started to simplify organizational structures and to eliminate activities that are superfluous or duplicated. The result of this is to make certain posts redundant and to limit the level of employment in the administration.

We hope that today's conference will be conducive to unifying all the creative forces of our economy around the practical implementation of these programs in every enterprise and in every position. [applause]

Jaruzelski's Closing Speech

LD311058 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, closing the national conference of worker activists held in Warsaw on 30 March -- recorded]

[Text] Citizens, comrades, esteemed participants of the meeting: This hall has often figured in the history of socialist Poland. Today's meeting of party and nonparty representatives of workers from all over Poland -- let us call it a rally, in accordance with working class tradition -- should also find a permanent place in the chronicles of People's Poland as the beginning of a great attack on the most difficult battlefield in peacetime -- the battlefield of the economy. Our road is bumpy, people's problems are acute, thoughts are bitter and discussions among Poles are difficult. The plenary debate as well as the numerous conversations held today by the participants of the meeting with ministers and representatives of the Central Committee were matter of facts, very frank, and very useful.

The direct public consultation with workers results from the spirit of the Ninth PZPR Congress. It is one of the forms of socialist renewal and it confirms the permanence and irreversible character of this renewal. The party and the people's power adopted the principle that vital plans concerning the economy would be presented to the public for a debate beforehand. We are now keeping our word. In the last few years many significant draft solutions were presented for wide-ranging consultation. Of course, not everyone can be reached with questions and not every opinion can be taken into consideration. However, this direction, this method of action, is being implemented more and more broadly.

No doubt it is more difficult to govern when the working class closely observes the actions of the authorities and when the motives behind decisions have to be explained instead of being simply announced as essential. But this is how we understand the application of people's power. We are undertaking a national fight against inflation in an organized manner and we are beginning to implement a far-reaching savings program. The intentions of the government in these areas have been published and the Sejm has begun to debate them. Their fundamental directions and intentions have been outlined today by Comrades Barcikowski and Szalajda. The debates has enriched they way we see things by its many important and interesting opinions and thoughts. In order to consider them seriously and in a concrete manner, time is essential. We shall initially do this tomorrow at a session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. We shall also review these opinions in the government and in the various ministries. That is why my speech will not be a final summing up. I treat it as a voice in the debate, as a few reflections against the background of the subjects discussed today.

The conference proves three important facts: first, as never before the economic front is also becoming a political front in our country, and the national and foreign enemy is acting accordingly. Two years ago the enemy attempted to paralyze the economy and a year ago wanted to strangle it to death with sanctions. By maintaining the sanctions today the enemy is aiming to spread confusion and doubt in order to undermine the confidence of Poles in their own abilities. This is understandable because every manifestation of improvement in the material sphere means the strengthening of socialism and thus yet another misfortune for the imperialist hopes and a defeat for internal counterrevolution. There is no simplificaiton in this. This is the ruthless logic of contemporary class struggle.

Second, the character and climate of today's meeting strongly confirm that the party -- while serving the nation and leading it on the socialist road -- is and will remain the party of workers. It is the party which adopts the historical, political and economic interests of the workers class as the foundations for its strategy and its primary directive.

A Polish worker is in his own element and where he belongs. It is to him that we first tell our intentions and it is to him that we report. One could, after all, not call a meeting such as the only today. The authorities would thus save themselves from having to listen to bitter remarks or critical statements. There is no such custom in any capitalist state. Somehow one does not hear about workers' rallies attended by the leadership of the Americans Administration.

It is only a Marxist-Leninist party and only the people's power which consider it their political and moral duty to stand face to face with the workers, even when things are difficult and when one cannot boast of many successes. [applause]

Third, today's debate has indirectly confirmed that the shaping of the new economic thinking is a difficult and long-lasting process which is not devoid of contradictions. Having this in mind, I shall speak very openly and sometimes perhaps too strongly. But we would always come off badly if we omitted difficult, unpleasant or sometimes painful matters.

The prolonged crisis suggests the question: How long will it last? Why is it so difficult for us to extricate ourselves from the present grip of this crisis? It is understandable that such questions are asked above all of the party, the government, and the leadership of our country. It would be easy to reply that we live in difficult times, that we carry the burden of great indebtedness, and that the government has no secret treasure chest at its disposal. This would, of course, be a truthful answer. One could also give assurances that we spare no effort to make extrication out of the crisis as brief as possible. In order to keep the peace, on could make promises even when it is obvious that the fulfillment of such promises is not up to the authorities. We do not intend to march along this road. The nation has the right to be bitter and distrusting. The working class has to pose questions and demand answers. However, at the same time it ought to know the whole situation of our country, to understand its complexities and to be aware that today there are no easy answers or simple solutions and decisions approved by everyone.

In the past the government was criticized for interfering in everything, for centralizing too many decisions, and for restricting self-management and cooperatives. And today it is accused just as sharply for not limiting the freedoms abused by some of the directors and self-management chairmen and supervisory councils. Some people demand that a given person be paid for specific work and that the fact he has five children should be ignored, whereas others, on the contrary, tend to judge the people's state on whether it provides maximum social benefits. Some believe that young marriages should be assisted. Other recall that the older generation worked half or all their life without any priviledges.

Some say: Throw out those who are incompetent or lazy onto the street. Without the threat of unemployment the economy will not move full steam ahead. This also has a tough retort: Unemployment cannot be reconciled with socialism. The workers demand that the so-called parasites be forced to work, whereas others who are quite important in Poland become angry with the authorities because by this they infringe on human rights and civic liberities. Some supply irrefutable arguments for the rapid development of crafts and small-scale industry, whereas others prove that this is precisely the cause of making various millionaires and that it carries the danger of the reconstruction of capitalism. There are many more such dilemas.

I am not saying this to complain. On the contrary, I believe that the authorities must listen to differing opinions, ponder upon them, evaluate, analyze, and take them into consideration. But it is the fundamental duty of the authorities to make decisions in the full awareness that not everyone can be satisfied and that some of the community will not be pleased with such decisions.

I return to the question which is frequently asked today: Why is the extrication from the crisis proceeding with such difficulty? There are many objective and subjective reasons for it. They have already been discussed many times, but maybe some of them deserve a fuller explanation.

Let us begin with basic issues. In the 1946-82 period our country's population increased by 12.6 million. In other words, for the last 36 years a daily average of 960 new citizens arrive in Poland, making every month a nearly 30,000-strong town, every year an agglomeration on the scale of a voivodship of 350,000 inhabitants, every 3 years a second Lodz plus a Radom. Each of these new citizens must be given sooner or later a place in a kindergarten and a school, an apartment and a job, food and medical care, clothing and a place in the means of transportation. In 1982 there was another record number of births.

Population growth takes place in other European countries as well, although it is lower as a rule. There are also countries with zero population growth and those where the population is dwindling. It is with joy that we greet the arrival of each young Pole; each is proof of our people's vitality. It is the great wealth of the nation, but it is also a great duty incumbent on all society. You cannot build apartments or factories from joy alone, and we did not always draw the appropriate conclusions from this. We began to fulfill the growing aspirations, but we also failed to take sufficient account of the extent of population growth. Without the requisiste increase in output, without sufficient progress in the area of productivity, organization of labor, transportation, services, technical culture, and discipline today, too, we are paying for this.

Moreover, throughout the first 25 years after the war we had to overcome the consequences of the war. It claimed an enormous quantity of victims and some 40 percent of the nation's wealth. We had to overcome the consequences of a huge migration -- the greatest in the whole history of our nation. Almost half the Poles changed their places of residence in the first 15 years after the war. They migrated from the countryside to the towns, from east to west, from west to east. Only a socialist economy was capable of alleviating the consequences of such as extensive sociological upheaval. It was however impossible -- even if no errors had been made -- to aviod all the difficulties and negative consequences. It is also because of socialism and socialism alone that in a period of less than 40 years we succeeded in bridging the gigantic gap between prewar Poland and modern Poland.

It does have its serious problems, but even now, in the midst of a crisis, it is a country which has great potential and where options are still open. Strenuous, well organized work, savings, rapid organizationa, and technological progress, all of which are within our reach, have been and continue to be our greatest chance. Unfortunately, however, none of these things happens to be our forte. What is more, many of these key factors have recently declined. As is known, the average industrial worker worked 200 hours less than in 1978. In other words, we work 1 whole month less than 5 years ago. This is a consequence of the introduction of free Saturdays, extended maternity leave, reductions in shift pattern.

Unfortunately this is not all. As a consequence of frequent sick leave, compassionate leave and absenteeism, the average working time decreased additionally by a further 41 hours -- that is, by nearly 1 week compared with the case at the end of the seventies. The fact that the working day is not used to the full makes for more losses, which are difficult to calculate with any precision. This also includes instances of drunkenness during work, which still occurs. All this means tens of millions of lost hours, those countless billions of zlotys' worth of lost national income, which in turn entails a decline in living standards.

Let us look further. Poland uses considerably more energy and materials per one unit of production than is the case in most European countries, including countries of the socialist community. Listeners to the Radio Feuilletons by Editor Krystyna Zielinska and readers of many other press publications are learning all the time how many people in industry, construction, and commerce have so far failed to take note of the crisis. Cases of thoughtlessness, wastage, and at times downright absurd spendthrift attitudes still continue to abound. While we are on the subject, let us try to understand that vandalism, barbarity, destroyed rail cars, and staircases, broken benches, street lamps, and telephone booths alone annually cost us billions of zlotys.

It is true that the best method for combating various economic ills is to apply economic sanctions. We will introduce such sanctions and apply them with consistency. However, we must not be tempted by naive oversimplifications. Economic instruments are extraordinarily important. But in the end it is people themselves, their conscientiousness, initiative, discipline and, perhaps above all, their resolve to tackle the difficulties which are of decisive importance.

We have so many talented scientists, engineers, and builders. But organizational and technical progress is being implemented with so much difficulty. Prof Jerzy Grzymek had every reason recently to draw attention to this problem, particularly emphasizing the wide gap between theoretical knowledge and the ability to put it into practice, especially in the field of technology. Today when imports, goods, and licences have been drastically cut, one would expect even more new solutions and a radically better ability to cope. We should be saying: Since we do not have it, we will make something else. But there are so many people who would rather say: We do not have it? All right, so be it. We will not get far with this attitude.

I do not wish to detract from the accomplishments of the technical community, from Polish scientists, engineers, inventors, and efficiency experts. It is precisely thanks to them that in literally thousands of cases it was possible to find replacement solutions and to avoid production grinding to a halt or machines falling into disrepair. The fact that the chief technical organization has accelerated its activities is largely responsible for this. However, I think that as far as the entire, rather numerous scientific and technological cadre is concerned, there are simply too few examples of this. There are also too few examples if one thinks of the expenditure which society earmarks for science and scientific progress despite the difficult situation.

The commencement of large-scale cultural transformations constitutes a weighty contribution of socialism to the development of Polish social consciousness. However, transformations of this nature do not become consolidated overnight. They take shape over a period of many years and perhaps even over the lifespan of several generations. These transformations have not yet been consolidated to a sufficient extent everywhere. Technical culture often leaves much to be desired. The same holds true for discipline and love of order. The foremen and team leaders present in this hall might have quite a few things to say on this score from their own experience.

It is often said that as a rule Poles work well in the West. Generally speaking, however, it is not then said that the threat of personal degradation and the humiliating whip of unemployment constitute very efficient means of training. As for us, we wish to attain positive social goals by improving the methods peculiar to socialism. However, even if such means were ideal, they would not replace the basic reflection: Who am I? What am I worth? How much do I give of myself?

Let us look at this further. Over the past few years -- and due to factors known to everyone -- there has occurred an enormous advance in the field of social benefits. Even those countries which are considerably richer than we are cannot afford -- especially during the current period of world depression -- as many privileges in the fields of welfare, leaves, and bonuses as are given to those in crisis-tormented Poland. We do remember how this happened: the party, the government appealed for moderation and restraint in demanding ever new privileges. They warned that this would have a boomerang effect and that it would soon exact its revenge, and this is what is happening. Moreover some of the economic effects will continue to manifest themselves in the coming years. In this context it is worth stressing the practice -- which has become prevalent to the extent of a caricature -- of receiving various benefits in kind as allowances. This brings about a harmful differentiation within the working class, and it often represents a boon for the profiteers. If it were going to develop further, maybe over a short period of time we would have a situation in which, as one of our comrades said today, the allowance to shipyard workers would have to take the shape of ocean-going vessles, while metallurgy industry workers would have to get locomotives. This problem needs to be examined and put in order. However, unilateral decisions will not be made here. Workers themselves, in their own and in the collective interest, must examine these things. It is from them that suggestions of equitable solutions should come.

Citizens and comrades, we do not live in this world by ourselves. Burdened by our own difficulties, we all too rarely realize the extent of the painful deterioration in the economic situation on a global scale. Unemployment in advanced capitalist countries has reached a record level not seen for half a century. Indices of international commerce took a plunge.

Even if our current crisis were not so painful and even if Polish export goods were completely competitve, we would still encounter bigger difficulties on world markets than during the preceding decade. After all, you have to add the imperialist sanctions to all of this. We spoke of them today. Each day that such sanctions are applied the standard of life for the Polish population goes down -- and it is easy to calculate by how much.

The Polish worker ought to remember this lesson in detail, especially when he hears about the alleged sympathy of American politicians for Poland and Poles. Real sympathy is shown in a somewhat different manner. In the final analysis who knows if this bitter lesson will not yet turn out to be for the best as far as Poland is concerned. If a gold medal for services rendered to CEMA existed, it would surely go to a certain well-known American politician who have effectively facilitated the economic integration of the socialist countries. [applause]

Silver and bronze medals would in turn go to those Western politicians who -- succumbing to the pressure of Washington and contrary to their own long-term interests -- have broken off the economic relations formed with our country over many years.

The reorientation now being undertaken in our economic ties with abroad is not a transitional, ad hoc turn. We wish to attune, over a long period, better, in a permanent and stable manner, the Polish economy toward our natural support -- that is, the socialist community -- toward receptive and geographically close markets, toward the still insufficently assessed, enormous coproduction possibilities. We are also undertaking work on a comprehensive program of developing cooperation with developing countries.

The difficult daily life does not exempt us from thinking about the international position of our country. No one to whom the fate of the country is a matter of concern can think without anxiety about Poland's decline in many important comparative indices. Our present position has deteriorated in comparison with what it was several or a dozen or so years ago. True, we have succeeded in regaining to a certain extent our place in the socialist community. Still, however, in the eyes of many partners we are not a sufficiently credible country -- or stable enough -- with which it is worth engaging in business for decades.

I have outlined here a picture of many difficulties and numerous real dangers, not in order to frighten anyone, but, on the contrary, so we do not waste and do not squander our chances precisely now in a world full of so many threats.

Soon the month of national remembrance begins. As we do every year, we will pay homage to our people who fell and were slaughtered, and our liberators. It is necessary that at this moment of remembrance we should reflect on the legacy of those who, as they fell, believed in an independent, just, and secure Poland.

There are in the West mighty infuential forces which for obvious reaso s have a vested interest in Poland's being the sick man of Europe, a state whose borders may be questioned. There are forces interested in prolonging as much as possible the overcoming of our crisis. The worse people in Poland live, the better for Washington. There are such people who for their own imperialist goals are prepared to fight right down to the last Pole. Whoever allies himself with these forces voluntarily or out of thoughtlessness, whoever lends an ear to alien propaganda spread for alien objectives, foreign money, and by foreign citizens, has no moral right to debate about Poland. The strength of the country is determined not only by its military potential, the system of defensive alliances, the level of civilization and state of the economy, but also by the state of mind, the sense of national community of interests and aspirations.

The aggravation, agitation, and division of the nation, the incitement of mutual distrust, cannot serve Polish interests. You cannot wait for socialism to pass. Waiting today means going backward and behaving against the interests of the nation. Particularly in this light the worthlessness of these who in contemporary times have disseminated the concept of collaboration [kolaboracja] is revealed. This is a peculiar form of patriotism which praises passivity or even the harming of one's own state while allowing, even justifying, actual collaboration with foreign centers. Let us ultimately call this by its name: It is often only a small step from assuming the guise of opposition to standing on the brink of national treason. [applause]

Dear comrades and workers, in our country fortunately there have always been those who even in the most difficult moments did not take offense at history, but they thought hard about how to cope effectively. And this is how it is today. Once again at a time so difficult for the homeland the patriotism of deeds is revealed. It was clearly shown by many of today's speeches. This warms the heart and inspires us with hope since endurance and farsightedness are not the most frequent features of our community.

During the first postwar years the opponent endeavored to sow the propaganda of pessimism. Was it not said at every step that the Reds will not manage to cope with the war destruction? That Poland will be rebuilding for 100 years? How dismissively they shrugged their shoulders when the first Polish tractor, ship, car, television set, and computer appeared. Today, we again hear the same refrain. Again they are saying that the Poles will not get out of the mess and will not cope.

It is not true that we do not know how to work efficiently. It is not true that we are looking for manna from heaven. In these difficult times there are numerous examples of self-sacrifice, initiative, wise,effective effort. Without this, how could the economy have kept itself alive in the last dramatically difficult year?

As far as time allows, I visit works enterprises. I talk with the workers. I know what it means when there is a shortage of the proper material, when again a delivery has been late, when after hours of effort it is necessary to stand in lines, and in the evening to ponder how to make ends meet. And we do not intend to try and convince anyone that things with us are better than they really are. When things are difficult for many families, then of course reality is seen in dark colors.

However, we need the truth, bitter where there is something to be ashamed about. This truth is painful where it concerns areas in which we cannot change much, but it is proclaimed proudly where it concerns areas in which we have attained much for all to see.

It is proclaimed proudly where it concerns areas in which, at long last, we are beginning to emerge from the morass. Such bridgeheads already exist. People who facilitated this are to be found also in this room. All this has been possible only thanks to the working class not listening to the apostles of national suicide, and the authorities, despite every possible setback, have not abandoned their commitment that the national economy will be reformed.

The socialist goals and principles of our reform are not to the liking of self-taught healers of the economy. To those who are prepared to hand Poland and the workers into sevitude [ajencje] we say the following: Let the state stop interfering in economic life, let human initiative and inventiveness run freely, and the miraculous balance of supply and demand will in 2 or 3 years create of Poland a country flowing with milk and honey. This is smugness, long outdated pseudo-theories born in prewar fault-finders trading with the proverbial soap and plum paste [mydlo i powidla] that have been pressed onto the ingenuous since People's Poland came into existence. However, this has nothing in common with the problems of a country with 36 million inhabitants and a considerable industrial potential.

At a recent session the Council of Ministers made an assessment of the progress and the effects of the reform to date. Even the initial results are confirming the correctness of the decision on the initiation of this multifarious reconstruction of the economic system. We noted at the same time that shortcomings also appeared at this stage as well in the conception, because our reform has not been borrowed from anybody and its principles cannot be copies, as in its implementation in practice. this was mentioned here today. It has been difficult to avoid mistakes, but it must be said clearly that in no case can they serve as a pretext for pulling out. On the contrary, their ability for self-repair, the reformability of the reform can be based only on a forward march -- only forward. [applause]

The reform has not only supporters and enthusiasts, and it would have been difficult to expect it to. For some it is a kind of earthquake. For a long time there was an omnipotent upper crust which gave, divided, and knew everything best. Today a considerable proportion of power had devolved to the workplaces, managements, self-managements, and workforces. Not all people are prepared within themselves for this responsibility. Many people find it difficult to find themselves in the new situation, which is more complex. [passage indistinct]

He who is unable to meet the demands, who does not free himself from the bureaucratic harness, who is lacking in initiative, ability to cope, and responsibility -- the rapid tide of life will not spare him. Selection and promotion will be determined on the basis of practice, and on the objective, legible, and more easily verifiable criteria that are formed in its course. You are worth as much as you (?want to do) and are able to do at the machine, in the directorate, in the government. [applause]

But there are aslo disappointed advocates of reform. It is hard to be surprised by them for they do not see any positive changes really taking place around them in the work enterprise. The organization of work is not being improved, the works administration is as bloated as it was. Wages still have not been made dependent on the quality of work. In a word, everything is as of old.

Well, how are we to speak of reform then? Indeed, there are enterprises where the introduction of the new economic mechanism proceeds painfully slowly. However, there are more and more enterprises where the reform is already beginning to produce promising results. The mechanism is the very same. Regulations are identical, the law uniform, but results are quite different. This is an argument not against the reform, but against those who still continue to be unable to make use of it.

The socioeconomic changes initiated by the party bear a profoundly socialist character. We wish the interest of the individual to be combined harmoniously with the interests of the community in these changes. We wish them to link the long-term strategic planning, whose common denominator is the good of all society, with the maximum utilization of all that can be released only by socialism from each conscious worker and employee. The system currently being introduced ought to reflect the de facto superiority of our system, high productivity combined with social justice, conceived not as a nationwide charity, but as the implementation of socialism's foremost principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work.

Today many comrades clearly spoke in favor of eliminating departures from this principle, departures which give rise to opposition. This is still more proof of how deeply the socialist ideal of social justice has been rooted in the consciousness of the working class. The features of socialist reform should demonstrate themselves more strongly even today in the extensive sphere of actions, which in short are defined as thriftiness. We are entering a new and, if we may say so, historical period. No one will cancel it tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. It will always be the time of counting every zloty, every kilowatt of energy, or even maybe every liter of water.

The whole world is going in this direction today, and Poland can be no exception. I will illustrate the importance of this problem with a perhaps slightly simplified but typical example. On average, every day a worker employed in the socialized industry uses materials and energy costing Z3,942. Let us assume that we reduce this amount by Z42 per employee. To achieve such a small saving there is no need for large investment or ingenious inventions. It would frequently be enough to use materials better or to switch off [word indistinct] machine and so forth. But on the scale of the national economy this would mean an immediate saving of more than Z50 billion in 1 year -- that is, the equivalent of the recent increase in prices of cigarettes, coffee, and gasoline. Of course, the same financial effect can be achieved at once by increasing the price of the product. Then there will be an extra Z50 billion on the market again, and again Minister Krasinski will attract dislike as a full time extortioner on behalf of the government.

We can really save these sums and give them a real value in goods and services, in something that has a measurable and material character. It would be possible to feel this on the market, too. The improvement would perhaps be small at the moment, but it is necessary to achieve this first and most important percent. Every sensible policy today should begin with calculations of this kind. As one of the participants in the debate said today, it is necessary to save both one zloty and millions of zlotys. We still do not have such a habit strong enough to become the permanent feature of the collective consciousness. History caused the politics of Poland to be a battle first and foremost. Today politics must also become the art of counting, saving, and rational thinking. Our meeting today has such a goal. Economic education must become a priority among our educational tasks. It should be systematically and in an easily digestible way popularized by the press, radio, and television. It must find a more significant place in the programs of party training, in higher education establishments of all types, in professional training and postgraduate courses. Probably in secondary schools the teaching of economics will have to be treated differently. The country in which a high school graduate does not know the difference between costs and prices and the idea of national income from the state budget cannot function well. Let us not be ashamed to start with the basics.

As I have pointed out, not all the mechanisms of the reform are functioning at full capacity. They will be assisted by other actions. We are appointing a government plenipotentiary for saving. He will be granted appropriately extensive powers. Jerzy Wozniak will be appointed to this post. He is also the materials economy minister. We will strengthen the currently weak internal and state control of production quality. The losses which are borne by the community because of low quality are enormous, virtually embarassing, and the counteraction both from above and from below is not effective enough. This must be tolerated no longer.

We expect that the work currently in progress to improve the system control in the state and the economy will encourage the more effective struggle against the social plagues, the economic pathology, and bureaucratic inefficiency. It is the feeling of the community that the regional and municipal operational groups have done well. We will continue this specific form of control. Soon these groups will again set out into the regions and will check the state of implementation of suggestions and recommendations issued following their last national campaign at the end of last November. They will also give support to the spring campaign of cleaning up and introducing order to villages and towns. Also last year comprehensive checks and rechecks of voivodships were initiated and proved very useful. The armed forces inspectorate devoted much effort to these. Its principled, in-depth, and consistent attitude was met with appreciation among the community. At present, I am conveying this task to the main regional inspectorate created at the office of the minister of administration, local economy, and environmental protection. It will carry out its first control action in a designated voivodship in the near future.

Recent events have also brought about a greater cohesion and a tightening of the various forces and means of control in the joint, complex undertakings against theft, speculation, and other forms of illegal profiterring. In addition to militiamen, ORMO [Voluntary Militia Reserve] members and soldiers, inspection experts from various ministries are also taking part in these actions as well as -- and this is particularly noteworthy -- social control cells, especially those pertaining to workers.

These useful forms and methods of control will be developed and enriched by us. Every means within the law, every method accessible to the authorities to combat social plagues and persons gaining illegal and excessive profits, must and will be used. Here I would like to note with special appreciation the thought of Comrade Daniela (Banachowicz) from Lodz who spoke today. She very rightly protested against the fact that an alien personality pattern [obcego wzorca osobowego], in whose lifestyle the only thing that counts is the so-called graft [szmal], is becoming established in various milieus. I think that this subject deserves widespread public debate and an unequivocal working class opinion.

Esteemed comrades, inflation is neither an act of God nor a test given out by fate. It is an unavoidable result of a faster growth in incomes than in market goods. It can and must be brought under control. The means of achieving this goal have been presented in the government's anti-inflation program. These means involve the stimulation of production, the cessation of an unjustified growth in incomes, and the initiation of price increases as a last resort.

Not all the mechanisms which should have already served this aim last year proved effective. Some of them even brought about certain unintended negative effects. In connection with this we have introduced relevant corrections for this year. The fight against inflation was made more difficult by the decisions of some managements regarding extra wage payments which were out of reasonable proportion to the increase in production and productivity. Please do not misunderstand this. Nobody here is claiming that those who received high payments at the end of last year through various bonuses received too much money. The point is not how much money there is, but how much the money is worth and what can be bought for it.

Can we reach the state where every zloty earned means something on the market and where goods await it in the shops? Yes we can and we must. One of the most important factors which encourages the achievement of this goal is the correct system of wages. After consultation with the trade unions, legal acts will be issued making it possible to have a better order in the system of wages in enterprises. Already under current conditions of reform, enterprises have far-reaching freedoms in creating the internal principles of wage payments. No one intends to curtail these freedoms. On the contrary, it is our view that enterprises are the most suited to set the best rules of wage payments for themselves, rules recognized as just by the work force. The expansion of the wage power of enterprises has not been used properly everywhere. It is true that the situation was different before. Trade unions did not function and workers' self-managements were only beginning their activity.

Now these extremely important links can actively participate in the creation of the principles of payments in enterprises. It is a privilege and duty, but at the same time a great responsibility.

Taking advantage of this opportunity to speak, I would like to mention three matters. The first concerns the relative deficit of labor. This problem is well known and in today's debate various views were expressed on the subject. The shortage in the labor force is an objective fact. That is why I wish to appeal from here to retired persons, pensioners, workers [as heard]: If your health allows you, return to your work for a year, for 2, for 3 years. Relevant advantageous regulations have already been issued. Please give to Poland yet again your skills and experience. Poland needs you.

I also appeal to the young. We know how difficult it is for you to start life without having your housing needs satisfied. One must not stop searching for all additional means and ways to accelerate the solution of this serious social problem.

I present the following proposal for your examination: Let those who are waiting for apartments undertake work on workfree Saturdays. In their own enterprises let them assign a proportion of their leave to working. Let them organize themselves into special teams with this purpose in mind, and the fruits of this additional effort will go toward contributions paid to housing cooperatives and toward increasing the housing fund of workplaces.

I believe that this solution, [applause] if it should meet with the extensive approval of the public, would make it possible to attain two goals at the same time. Working in one's own job, and hence with the highest productivity, it would be easier to obtain the means to have one's own deposit with the housing cooperatives. At the same time, funds which the enterprise can put toward housing construction would grow. What is most important of all, these means would be matched by increased output.

Dear comrades, today's discussion gave us all a great deal of material to ponder over. It will be necessary to ensure that it is extensively disseminated among the public. It will be necessary to jolt each enterprise to adopt a similar way of thinking.

In this assembly we have not concealed various shadows and thorns. It is only those who are sure that they are right, those who have confidence in the strength and rightness of their cause that can talk of what troubles them with such openness as you, even with such indignation, although in a spirit of creativeness and sincere concern. I realize that the arguments I have submitted will not reach everyone. Feigned unanimity is not something that Poland needs. What is however necessary, and historically even essential, is that we should realize, all of us, irrespective of the differences in our views and opinions, that the key to Poland's future is to be found in the hands of the Polish people. [applause]

Today what hurts our national dignity so much, what humiliates and angers us, will be easier to bear if we leave this hall convinced that step by step, gradually, we are already beginning to move forward, that we will not be content with this typically Polish hope that things will somehow be all right. There can be no "somehow" as far as our country is concerned. Things must be better. The crisis affects in equal measure both party members and those who do not belong to it, union members and those who do not belong to them, young and old people.

How quickly can we put it behind us? This depends on all of us: work forces, enterprises, industries, the whole society, each and every Pole as an individual. We must emphasize strongly that we will not let the crisis depress us. We will tear ourselves out of this vicious circle, for there is simply no other way out. This is our "to be or not to be."

By declaring war on inflation, bad management, wastage, and harmful practices, the party and government leadership is beginning to tackle tasks that are more difficult than has ever been the case. Not infrequently these are unpopular tasks and very complicated from the organizational angle. We will not retreat in the face of this challenge. But by itself the people's authority will not overcome the difficulties. Only the whole nation can accomplish it, and above all the working class, conscious of its role as the foremost master of the country, thinking in terms of statehood, selfless, and uncompromising in its appraisals and conclusions. [applause]

Today our socialist fatherland faces a choice of the same magnitude as those that Poland has had to make repeatedly in its past. Either we will stand firmly on our own two feet in our economic life, or else for long years to come we will fall to join a group of countries which proved incapable of coming to grips with their historical periods of trial.

There are no rational grounds for supposing that our great achievements, won in hard battles, should not bear fruit again. It will not be possible to leap with one bound over the strong barricade across our path. However, let us believe that we have enough strength and consciousness to demolish it together. Our nation -- if it wants to -- can accomplish anything. And it will. [prolonged applause]

CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO ISSUES COMMUNIQUE

LD311752 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Communique issued by the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee on 31 March]

[Text] The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee has carried out an assessment of the campaign of meetings and accountability conferences which has been held within the party. It was stressed that this represented an important review of the PZPR's ideological condition, political strength, and organizational capacity following the ninth extraordinary congress. This campaign has confirmed the congruence between the directions of the activity of the party links and the resolutions of the ninth congress, and has indicated a clear increase in ideological and political unity and organizational efficiency. One valuable achievement of the meetings and accountability conferences lies in the numerous motions and proposals put forward. The Politburo recommended that these be elaborated and implemented speedily and consistently.

The Politburo acquainted itself with a report on the course and results of the session of central committee secretaries for foreign and ideological affairs of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries that took place in Moscow on 14 and 15 March this year.

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee also carried out a preliminary analysis of the workers' aktiv on the government economy and anti-inflation programs. It was recommended that the motions and proposals submitted be further elaborated, and that a procedure for their implementation and a system of information on the ways in which they have been dealt with be determined.

The Politburo adopted a resolution on the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Polish People's Army, which falls this year.

SOLIDARITY REPORT CLAIMS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

NC311500 Paris AFP in English 1451 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] London, March 31 (AFP) -- Torture, summary convictions and other abuses of human rights are continuing in Poland, according to a report by the banned Solidarity organisation presented here today. The report, which was smuggled out of Poland, will be put before the Madrid follow-up conference on the Helsinki accords.

Between December 1981, when martial law was declared, and December 1982, the report said, police four times used flamethrowers to break up peaceful demonstrations in Gdansk and elsewhere, killing several persons.

In the judiciary, according to the report, numerous judges, prosecutors, and lawyers have been disbarred and others forced to resign. Others have been interned. The report quoted Justice Minister Sylwester Zawadzki as describing "mild" sentences as "a boycott of the authorities." "A humanitarian approach that disregards reality," he told Polish judges, "may lead to a greater harm."

The report said the institution of martial law prepared "a quasi-legal basis" for repression. "The basic rights of citizens," it added, "such as the inviolability of persons, freedom of speech and of the press, the right to public gatherings and demonstrations," were abolished. "Privacy of correspondence and telephone communications in practice does not exist."

The report said that official figures putting at 3,666 the number of persons arrested during the year of martial law were a deliberate underestimate. A total of 3,500 Poles were convicted at purely political trials, it added.

No one was exempt from repression, the report said. In practice, all university rectors were dismissed last year and numerous teachers, including 200 at the Silesia Polytechnic Institute, had lost their jobs. Children and adolescents had been killed or injured under "institutionalised" repression, 10 per cent of journalists had lost their jobs, and another 20 per cent had been punished by other methods.

The conditions of detention, the report said, are a complete "violation of international law" and are so severe that the government has never published the detention regulations. "There are many reports from prisons of beatings, abuse of prisoners, and harassment," it added. One form of punishment was to reduce the prisoners' food allowance, and prisoners could send and receive only one letter every two months.

"We send this report," the authors concluded, "with the conviction that it will serve the cause of peace and security in Europe, for there can be no peace without social justice."

A Solidarity spokesman in London, Marek Garztechi, commented that since 1981 the Polish authorities have totally abolished the distinction between administrative and legislative powers.

RADIO SOLIDARITY BROADCAST CRITICIZES OFFICIALS

OW010500 Hong Kong AFP in English 0430 GMT 1 Apr 83

[By Jacques-Michel Tondre]

[Text] Warsaw, April 1 (AFP) -- Radio Solidarity broadcast a four-minute satirical comment here Thursday which was heard by many Poles despite jamming of the frequency by an unidentified pop-music transmitter. The undergound radio, voice of the now-banned Solidarity independent trade union movement, took pot shots at Polish government figures, particularly official spokesman Jerzy Urban and the deputy interior minister, General Boguslaw Stachura.

The speakers, a man and a woman, mocked Gen Stachura for having announced six months ago that Radio Solidarity was finished. They suggested that he might have been playing an April fool's joke -- six months early.

The FM broadcast, heard clearly in some neighborhoods, was barely audible in downtown Warsaw. But even there, the radio's signature jingle came through loud and clear at the beginning and end of the broadcast, which had been promised in leaflets distributed in the capital. Radio Solidarity's identification jingle uses the first 10 notes of a tune dating from the Polish resistance against the Nazi occupation.

Turning to Poland's current economic woes, the clandestine radio ridiculed official press comments suggesting that the situation was on the mend. It said government-ordered price hikes were intended to "take the shirt off our back." But if the opposition were completely muzzled and there were nothing to eat, "who will feed the government spokesman, Jerzy Urban," the Solidarity commentors asked. Mr Urban, who has the physique of a bon vivant, has to live with some off-the-cuff remarks he made about U.S. economic sanctions imposed against Poland when martial law snuffed out Solidarity's "springtime" in December 1981. Mr Urban was quoted as saying that the Polish people would suffer from the sanctions but that the authorities did not have to worry about starving.

The underground radio also insisted that, despite government claims that Solidarity had constantly used "negative slogans," the trade union movement had adopted a completely positive program.

Radio Solidarity last broadcast on January 24 -- opening day of the trial of station personnel before a Warsaw military court which sentenced the defendants to prison terms ranging from seven months to 4 and-a-half years. Radio Solidarity first went on the air April 12 last year. Often jammed, it was able to continue its scheduled programs until last July, when security police rounded up many of its staffers.

GDR, POLISH EDUCATION TALKS END IN WARSAW

LD291808 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 29 Mar (ADN) -- The 2-day working talks between GDR Education Minister Margot Honecker and the leaders of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing of the People's Republic of Poland ended in Warsaw today. At the invitation of Minister Boleslaw Faron further cooperation in the socialist upbringing of the younger generation and in the management and organization of the educational system was discussed.

The partners in the talks agreed to expand the fruitful cooperation between the two countries in the educational sphere on the basis of the plan for cultural work up to 1985 and to continue the working talks at ministerial level at a future meeting in Berlin. The main topic under discussion on the second day was instruction in the polytechnical school. Pointing to the successful progress of the polytechnical school since its beginnings in 1950, Margot Honecker stressed that with this type of school the GDR is achieving a close link between educational institutions and life, between theory and practice, and between learning and productive work.

Boleslaw Faron emphasized Poland's great interest in the GDR's experience in this sphere. He said that efforts are being made in this spirit for the successful continuation of cooperation ranging from pedagogical research to practical work in schools.

Ministers Interviewed

LD300914 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2010 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Interview in Warsaw with GDR Minister Margot Honecker and Polish Education and Upbringing Minister Boleslaw Faron by correspondent Klaus Franke -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade minister, what was the purpose of the talks you conducted in Warsaw during the last 2 days?

[Honecker] The purpose was to continue our good cooperation in the education field. There is a long tradition of cooperation between our education systems based on agreements between our governments and parties that go back many years. The concrete purpose of my visit was to discuss and exchange experiences on the problems of educating the young, developing schools, training and further training of teachers, and further developing our cooperation. We have comprehensive programs of cooperation and exchanges between our ministries, the staffs of teacher-training institutes and our border regions. We discussed these broad relations.

[Question] What did you concentrate on?

[Honecker] On exchanging our experiences in educating the young, educating them to participate in socialist society, in strengthening their state and, above all, on the problems of education in the spirit of two neighboring peoples. We are good friends. We met many good friends here. The talks took place in a frank, comradely, cooperative atmosphere. We are very satisfied.

[Question] I then asked Boleslaw Faron, the minister for education and upbringing of the Polish People's Republic, about his assessment of the results. He told me:

[Faron in Polish fading to German translation] As you know, the visit by Comrade Honecker was brief. Yet during these 2 very busy days we had a total of four official rounds of talks in which we concentrated on the following topics:

Yesterday we discussed education problems, including the program of socialist education which we have started. We also heard a statement by Comrade Honecker on socialist education in the GDR and political work with youth organizations. Today, Comrade Honecker gave us a comprehensive briefing on GDR experience in polytechnic instruction. These are exceptionally interesting experiences of cooperation between schools and production enterprises. We still have a lot to do in this field, and wish to utilize at least part of the GDR's results.

A third very important topic of our talks concerned cooperation. We discussed details for the years ahead, emphasizing that the collaboration between the two ministries will give priority to the exchange of experience, exchanges of graduates and the growing contacts between schools in the border regions of our countries. We want this cooperation to develop in the years ahead, in very concrete and relevant terms, and to be well prepared.

Let me say with pleasure and great satisfaction that Comrade Honecker has invited me to pay an official visit to the GDR. I wish to accept this invitation, which I received with pleasure, after the date has been agreed upon in order to see for myself what we have discussed here.

To return to the question you asked in the beginning, let me say that we are very satisfied with the course of our talks, which were imbued with deep friendship, cordiality, and great informality. I am convinced that as a result of this visit, the fraternal contacts between the two education ministries and our personal ministerial contacts will deepen further. We also discussed the great holiday scheme, which we shall organize this year at the initiative of our GDR comrades. One hundred thousand Polish children and young people will visit our neighbor for a vacation and 35,000 GDR youngsters will visit us. We regard that as a very important element in exchanging experience in socialist education and as very significant in strengthening the ties of friendship between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS NICARAGUA

LD301216 Warsaw PAP in English 1112 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] Havana 30 March -- Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz visited Managua, the Nicaraguan capital, on March 28.

Minister Wiejacz held talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met with leading Nicaraguan politicians and was received by B. Arce, coordinator of the Political Committee of the Nicaraguan Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, and by Sergio Ramirez, member of the Council of the Provisional Government of National Restoration.

The sides discussed a further development of relations between Poland and Nicaragua and some international issues of interest to both countries.

The Nicaraguan side informed about different forms of aggression and pressure exerted by the United States.

Minister Wiejacz expressed Poland's support for and solidarity with Nicaragua's struggle for territorial integrity and progressive internal transformations of the country.

A Polish-Nicaraguan trade agreement was signed during the visit.

CEAUSESCU HOLDS FURTHER TALKS WITH ROSENTHAL

AU302049 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/3/1983 -- On March 30 President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania met Milton F. Rosenthal, chairman for the U.S. in the Romanian-American Economic Council, now on a Romanian visit.

The sides further examined problems related to the promotion of the Romanian-American relations of cooperation and collaboration, the sides considering that wide possibilities are at hand for expansion of the economic exchanges between the two countries, for amplification of the industrial and technical collaboration between Romania and the USA.

The sides highlighted the need for action to be taken in view of elimination of all obstacles hindering the Romanian-American relations, of all restrictions or limitations apt to obstruct the cooperation between Romania and the USA, and for unswerving observance, in the relations between the two countries, of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs, fully equal rights and mutual advantage.

The sides highlighted that the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the USA meets the interests of the Romanian and American peoples, serves the cause of detente, understanding, peace and cooperation internationally.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

ELENA CEAUSESCU MEETS POLISH SCIENCE MINISTER

AU311706 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1625 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 31/3/1983 -- On March 31, Academician Elena Ceausescu, d. eng., first deputy prime minister, chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, received Professor Benon Miskiewiez, Polish minister of science, higher education and technology, now on a Romanian visit.

The interview occasioned a warm exchange of friendly salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

During the interview the sides highlighted essential aspects of the activity carried out in the two countries in the field of science and technological development.

The parties evoked the relations of tight friendship and collaboration between the two parties and peoples, relations that are expanding and strengthening continuously, in the spirit of the understandings reached at summit level, to the advantage of both peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace throughout the world. The sides pointed out the fruitful bilateral collaboration on multiple planes, particularly in the mining, chemical and machine-building industries and in energetics, and expressed the joint wish to amplify and deepen it in the future.

The exchange of opinions singled out the special role incumbent on science in building a better and juster world of peace and collaboration among all the nations.

The interview passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT CC PLENUM 24 MAR

AU280930 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Mar 83 pp 1, and 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 24 March plenum of the RCP Central Committee]

[Text] Esteemed comrades,

The Central Committee plenum has discussed two groups of important subjects and has unanimously adopted resolutions on all points of the agenda. The first group of topics concerns economic-financial activities in 1982 and measures to improve the system of remunerations and material incentives as well as measures to more resolutely implement the new economic mechanism.

As can be seen from the report presented and from the discussions that took place, the 1982 economic and financial balance sheet is generally positive, although, as I stressed at the national conference and as the communique on the 1982 plan fulfillment showed, not all the provisions of the socioeconomic development plan were fulfilled; nevertheless, in view of the difficult conditions created -- among other things, by failings, difficulties and sometimes contradictions among certain sectors of activity, as well as by the international economic crisis -- the Romanian economy continued to develop. We have managed to markedly develop out national economy and have marked new steps along the path of implementing the 12th Party Congress objectives.

One noteworthy fact is that fixed assets have increased by 9 percent; the national wealth in general increased 7 percent. This is a positive factor in view of the strength and capabilities of our socialist society, which can secure continuous increases in the material-technical base. However, in comparison with other objectives of socioeconomic development, it must be admitted that production increases are seriously in arrears, especially considering the fixed assets and the technical-material resources we have. This fact has reflected and continues to reflect negatively on incomes, profitability and hence on more markedly increasing the national income. Comrades, I am stressing this because we must resolutely endeavor to more intensively utilize our material-technical resources and to increase production with the facilities we already have, thus more markedly increasing the social product and the national income -- the safe way of generally developing the fatherland and raising the people's material and cultural well-being.

Certain positive results were scored in raising returns and profitability, in spite of the failings mentioned beforehand. We have reduced material expenditures to a certain extent, but they are still too high. Actually, failure to more markedly cut back these expenditures has also had a negative impact upon the rate of increasing the national income.

The working people employed in the socialist sector increased by 120,000 in 1982, which is a very positive fact at the present time when the number of jobs is decreasing in many countries, including in certain socialist countries, and when unemployment is on the rise in the developed capitalist countries. However, if we relate this personnel increase to our labor productivity, we cannot declare ourselves satisfied, since the labor productivity increase rate was under 2 percent.

There is no doubt that failure to attain the established material production has contributed to a great extent to this low labor productivity rate; if the established production had been attained; we would have had a labor productivity increase of 4-5 percent. We must stress that, while we positively assess the 1982 balance-sheet, we cannot ignore certain serious shortcomings in appropriately utilizing the technical-material base. I stress this point because all economic bodies, the government, all party organizations, and the Central Committee must pay serious attention to it and eliminate this negative state of affairs.

The balance sheet report also mentions the fact that the working people's incomes have generally increased 9.5 percent. I do not plan to dwell in detail on the problems included in this report. We discussed them at the national conference and on other occasions, many comrades stressed various aspects here concerning various fields of activity in many counties. I must stress, however, that in my opinion some comrades tried to belittle or justify the great shortcomings in the activity of certain ministries and counties. It is true that not all socioeconomic units, ministries and party organizations properly understood the measures taken to resolutely reduce imports and the important tasks to develop our own material base and produce various parts, materials, subassemblies and machines locally. Many comrades wasted precious time hoping that these measures will be reconsidered and that they can revert to imports, instead of resolutely working to resolve problems with available means. This attitude caused us many hardships in the first two years, particularly in ensuring the technical-material base and supplies as well as the smooth development of the production process. However, if the ministries, including the county committee, had understood that they must resolutely proceed toward fulfilling tasks established by the 12th congress for 1981 and 1982 in all fields, we would have been able to rapidly resolve many problems, ensure proper supplies and guarantee the smooth development of the production process. I believe that this situation has already been overcome to a large extent, but it obviously had a negative impact. I stress this because we must properly understand the tasks set by the national conference for ensuring that the material base and the integration of production are an objective prerequisite for commendably fulfilling this year's plan and the entire 5-year plan.

In this respect, one can still note a certain restraint in various fields, due to the old mentality of resolving problems through imports rather than with one's own forces. I am most seriously emphasizing this point because everybody must understand that Romanian industry is capable of solving and must solve all problems. Of course, you cannot manufacture a single part on a large rolling mill. Nobody in the world does that. However, we have small workshops which can produce this part at a different productivity level. I would like to draw the attention of ministries -- with whom we actually discuss these matters weekly -- and the counties to turn to our enterprises and take all necessary measures so that these units should produce all we need, through cooperation between enterprises, including those in the small-scale industry.

Therefore, one can state that the slower development rate in the first 2 years was caused by both objective and to a large extent subjective reasons, by various negative states of affairs and by failure to resolutely proceed toward resolving problems with our own forces. In general I believe that we have overcome this situation to a large extent and that we started this year with better results.

While positively assessing the results attained, with the failings already noted, it is necessary to draw the necessary conclusions for activity this year and in coming years.

The national conference adopted a number of programs and measures to attain the basic goal established by the 12th congress. To attain this goal, namely the transition to a higher development stage and a new quality of work and life, we must resolutely work to implement the established programs and decisions.

Generally speaking, results for the first 2 months of this year have been good. We have established new organizational and other measures aimed at implementing the national conference decisions. We started with the energy and raw materials sectors. Various speakers referred here to the established measures, which are known to your all. Hence, I do not wish to dwell upon them now.

The first results have been positive. The coal production in the first quarter of this year will be 30 percent higher than in last year's corresponding period, this is a very good result which has contributed to better meeting energy requirements this year, although there were certain shortcomings here, too.

Certain important results were also attained in raising the production of other minerals. Measures are being implemented now in the mining sector to improve the organization of work and ensure technical and material conditions for fulfilling all tasks. We have everything necessary to recover this year and in the coming 2 years the losses incurred in the first 2 years of this 5-year plan and to implement the program established by the 12th party congress. This means that we should conclude this year with a coal production of about 200,000 tons per day, in 1984 we should attain 230,000-240,000 tons per day, and in 1985 we should reach a production of 250,000-270,000 tons per day. The measures adopted and the way in which these productions are attained in the first months of this year ensure that we can carry out these tasks. The same applies to other mining and raw materials sectors.

As far as the oil sector is concerned, it is true that we adopted new measures only this month, but we cannot declare ourselves satisfied with results attained in the first months of this year. All conditions exist for concluding 1983 with a production of at least 40,000-43,000 tons of oil per day. This would enable us to meet almost all oil requirements from domestic resources Of course, we will continue to import large quantities of oil for our petrochemical industry, however, the main thing is to do our best to meet the requirements for oil products from our own resources, except, I repeat, the requirements of the petrochemical branch, which are quite large.

We have everything we need for that and we must ensure, with the new organizational measures adopted, that each oil unit fills its established program. We are now drafting special programs to take into production all derricks and ensure that drilling operations are carried out in sure areas, hence, all necessary measures are being taken to ensure that all tasks are fulfilled.

Industrial production has increased 5.5 percent in the first 2 months of 1983. We will probably have a slightly higher rate for the entire first quarter. All conditions exist to fulfill and even overfulfill the planned industrial production for this year. The tasks concerning the development of the coal and oil production, other raw material sectors, petrochemistry, metalurgy and other branches require that we do everything to attain all these targets on schedule, something which demands additional efforts. Likewise, we must fully attain the production earmarked for exports.

In agriculture, we have also adopted a number of measures in the livestock field, the first results of which are coming in. Spring agricultural work is also proceeding smoothly. We must do everything possible and we have everything necessary to attain a good agricultural production despite the weather conditions at the beginning of this year, which were not too good in certain areas because of lack of rainfall. All the more so, we must take resolute measures and action, in the spirit of our discussions, to commendably fulfill all tasks concerning the development of agriculture.

We have attained certain reductions in material and energy consumption, however, they are totally insufficient. We discussed these problems during the first months of 1983 with the main economic ministries. Yesterday, I had a talk on this matter with the two machine building ministries and established programs to further reduce material and energy consumption. We will continue to examine these problems until May and will establish measures for all socioeconomic sectors. No socioeconomic units should be left outside this thorough examination. Each socioeconomic unit should take firm measures to reduce energy and material consumption. This also applies to cultural units and public organizations, including the party's economic organizations. One should also examine the energy and raw material consumption in the party, political and state activities.

This means that each and every sector must submit to control in this respect and must observe firm norms concerning the reduction of material and energy consumption. There is still much waste. In certain sectors we have taken measures to reduce material consumption -- the physical one, not in terms of value -- by 35-40 percent. We must resolutely proceed to implement established measures. We did not draft general guidelines, but specific ones per sectors and even products. Therefore, everybody knows how to act to implement the established material and energy consumption reductions. I do not believe that we have done everything yet. However, the established measures are an important step forward, and we should work to implement them, while continuing to further improve upon these measures.

We should continue to pay great attention to recovering and reusing materials, parts and subassemblies as well as reconditioning them. We have adopted various programs and measures in this respect too, and it is necessary to take firm actions to implement them. There are many good achievements that have not yet been generally introduced in all sectors. We already have stocks of recoverable materials that are not taken into production because of delays in commissioning processing capacities. Therefore, by recovering materials we can also attain an important reduction of new materials and imports and ensure appropriate technical-material supplies. Each ministry, unit, party organization, and county committee must establish its own program of measures, check its implementation weekly or every 10 days, monthly and quarterly and ensure its success. I want to stress that, through these measures, we plan to stop the import of copper, zinc, and lead next year and ensure all necessary quantities from our own production and from material recovery, including of course the cutback on consumption. But this applies to a large number of raw materials and products available in our country, whose planned production we can and must guarantee. I have already stressed that we started with good results in the mining sector; therefore, we must do everything -- and I ask all counties to pay attention to this -- to fulfill the established programs in all fields. The question of a smooth technical-material supply is linked with meeting our requirements to an ever greater extent locally, including through recovery and reutilization.

At the same time, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the just complaints and criticisms made by certain county committees and comrades concerning failings in the technical-material supply must be viewed in the light of how each sector attains its production at the established pace. Many difficulties in the first 3 months of this year have not been due to a shortage of raw materials but rather to the fact that various enterprises in various sectors failed to produce on schedule various materials, parts and subassemblies required by other fields of activity. One can find such enterprises in all counties. There is no county without enterprises that have failed to meet their obligations on time. This obviously creates a chain reaction that disorganizes production activity. Therefore, resolute measures must be taken to completely fulfill the itemized production in each unit on schedule.

We have decided that the main factories should have production stocks as of April for at least 15 days so as to prevent production breakdowns due to supply shortages. However, I repeat that the implementation of these measures requires that each unit fulfill its tasks. By May, or by the end of the first 6 months at the latest, we plan to ensure -- I am referring to industry -- 1 month-long production stocks of raw materials; for the horizontal industry [industrie orizontala] we intend to also ensure stocks of materials, parts, subassemblies and everything else required for a month, so as to ensure the smooth development of the production process. However, all ministries and central supply and planning bodies should firmly implement the established measures, and the county committees must supervise the implementation of these measures.

A particular role in this respect devolves on the technological and research activity, both with regard to resolving the problems of the material base, recovery and reutilization and with regard to adopting new technologies.

We have established tasks and programs for this field, too; I do not wish to dwell upon them now. We should resolutely implement all measures. We have a huge force in research and technology. However, we must put it to better use. In the last few weeks we examined the situation in the oil and mining sectors. We do not need oil institutes in Bucharest and Craiova; we must send the specialized forces to the respective production sectors and we have already taken appropriate measures along these lines. However, we must resolutely act to implement them.

We have a powerful research force in the machine-building sector. Although last year we talked about sending part of this force to the actual production units, things are lagging in this respect. That is why certain problems cannot be appropriately solved in the production units or are not always solved under the best technical conditions. Therefore, we should take resolute measures to send them to the actual production units rather than keep them in offices and say that we have tied them with the production when they occasionally visit such units. As I have already said, the measures are already established and we also have some good results. Research has made and continues to make an important contribution to all our achievements but it can and must accomplish more.

We have often discussed the question of quality and utilization. We are now drafting a special program that will also be submitted to the Central Committee plenum in May or June. One of the key problems of our entire activity is quality, and we must do our best to ensure the high technical and qualitative level of Romanian products. Of course, this primarily applies to the two machine building ministries, metallurgy and chemistry, but is also valid for the consumer producing sectors, too.

As I have said, we have often discussed these issues in the past and we are currently drafting a special program in this respect, because we must also attain a radical change in this field, too. I believe that everybody realizes that we cannot compete on the international market if the Romanian products are not competitive primarily from the qualitative and technical viewpoints; They must be at least similar to the existing products. However, our goal is to turn out better products, superior from the qualitative and technical viewpoints, since Romanian industry is not well known and even under equal quality conditions people will but, from habit, the product they have already known for a long time. That is why the question of quality must be a daily main concern of all bodies, enterprises, working people, party organizations, and party committees.

We must better utilize our raw materials. From the same ton of raw materials we should extract a much higher value through better products, and not higher prices as certain enterprises and sectors are doing. Concerning metal supplies, for example, I do not understand how certain counties could state that they failed to fulfill plan provisions due to a shortage of metal when we have stocks of almost 1 million tons of metal accumulated in 1982 in excess of plan provisions. Therefore, a shortage of metal could not have been the cause of their failure; rather we have too much metal in the production process. Of course, we have already adopted measures to eliminate this state of affairs, but it is necessary to put an end to this anarchical trend of accumulating metal and other products and hanging onto them without using them. We have also established the responsibilities incumbent upon the central bodies in this respect, since it is mainly their fault; however, party committees and organizations as well as enterprises also have a share of the guilt and we must eliminate this state of affairs. Stocks in excess of the norm lead to waste, irrational uses and all kind of nonplanned and noneconomical activities. In this respect, the metallurgical branch should start producing what is required by our economy and exports and appropriate measures have been established along these lines.

This is part and parcel of economic profitability and efficiency. Of course, we have attained good results in 1982, but a large number of units concluded that year with a negative balance sheet.

The situation is even worse in agriculture, but a large number of economic units had poor results. It is clear that failure to attain the planned production led to lesser efficiency and profitability with all its consequences.

We must act firmly to attain the goals of raising economic efficiency and profitability. In general, the entire activity must be reflected in financial results.

In a relatively short time, until 1985, we must seriously reduce the share of material expenditures in the social product. In this respect, we aim at a maximum of 55 percent. This means that, proceeding from the current situation, we should achieve a reduction of 70-80 lei per 1,000 lei within 3 years. This year we must attain a reduction of material expenditure of at least 30 lei per each 1,000 lei if we are to reach our target in the following 2 years. Everything we discussed thus far concerning the reduction of consumption is meant to lead to this goal and we must attain it. In this way we will be able to conclude the 5-year plan with a substantial increase in the national income, by coming closer to a national income of 1 trillion lei. I said coming closer, not actually reaching that target; at least we should exceed the figure of 900 million. This requires firm measures and actions from economic and financial organizations and party bodies in all fields, in order to fulfill these tasks.

We must put an end to waste and noneconomic consumption. We must do everything to powerfully raise economic efficiency, since only thus will the Romanian economy be able to further develop and only thus can we ensure conditions for implementing the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Another problem is that of labor productivity. Results for the first 2 years fall short of expectations. Although we have recorded a certain increase, it is too small and we cannot declare ourselves satisfied with it. We must however state that results for the first months of this year are much better in this field; if the plan established for this year is fulfilled, labor productivity will record a powerful increase. But even the plan provision is insufficient. We are currently drafting a program for labot productivity; this program, which will be ready by May, will also be submitted to the Central Committeeplenom for discussion. Generally speaking, we must double labor productivity by 1985, through organizational and technical measures and through the mechanization and automation of production processes. Only through work on 2 and 3 machines in the mahine building or on several weaving and spinning machines in the textile industry and so forth and only through new organizational measures that do not require particular efforts can we attain this goal. Therefore, the question of work on several machines and of proper rationalization and organization of work is and must be a prerequisite for increasing labor productivity. One cannot talk today about this leading to a loss of jobs. We are beginning to have difficulties with ensuring the necessary manpower. Even here certain comrades complained about this, although there is still enough manpower available in their countries.

It is therefore necessary for each unit to examine all these problems -- not wait for the program that will be ready in May -- and proceed to adopting radical measures to increase labor productivity.

Hence, labor productivity is another key issue for implementing the party program and the decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference.

Not enough has been said here about foreign trade activity. Much was said about failure to fulfill certain tasks, but little was said about the fact that last year we again failed to fully attain the contracted export production.

It is necessary to take measures to attain the production earmarked for export on schedule and at an appropriate qualitative level. Is it possible to attain in the first 2 months of 1983 surplus production of 3.5 million lei and fail to attain the production of 3.5 million lei and fail to attain the production earmarked for export? How come that certain ministries delivered to domestic enterprises additional materials, in excess of plan provisions, materials that were only designed for export? We have decided to take very firm measures against the guilty ones, regardless of whoever they may be. The fulfillment of the production earmarked for export is decisive for properly carrying out our own economic activity and for the country's overall development. We have already established how much we should consume and we have ensured everything to meet these consumption requirements, hence there can be no arguments to justify the failure to honor export contracts. This is a serious violation of party-state discipline. Order and discipline must be strictly observed. Nobody may act as they wish, regardless of reasons, justifications or their party-state functions! All the conditions exist for meeting all our export commitments and thus attaining the planned imports. We have taken all measures to fully attain the import of raw and other materials for our production process; however, in order to ensure our imports, we must attain our exports targets, in hard currency and with the socialist countries. Likewise, we must ensure quality products for our exports to both the West and the socialist countries according to contract stipulations!

On this basis, we can and must ensure a surplus trade balance of at least 3 billion dollars this year and we must implement the measures to attain an equal balance of payments by substantially reducing our foreign debt.

All these measures require resolute measures from the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Supply, other producing ministries, all state and party bodies, all enterprises and all party county committees. You are all familiar with our export program, therefore firm action should be taken to implement it accordingly!

As you all know, preparations are currently under way for the summit meeting of CEMA countries and economic matters. Romania is actively participating in these preparations. We have presented proposals; our comrades are actively participating in drafting the documents designed to radically improve the CEMA activity and the cooperation between CEMA countries.

At the national conference I talked about our appreciation of the activity carried out thus far by CEMA, its positive results and its important role in trade exchanges. However, it has now become necessary to draw all conclusions from both what was good and what is still bad and we should firmly work to adopt measures that can create conditions for resolving, within the framework of CEMA, the problems of energy and raw materials supplies, production sharing and specialization, technology, agriculture, and other fields, in view of the power and capacity of the CEMA socialist countries to resolve these problems through appropriate cooperation based on principles of mutual advantage. Equality and respect for each country's independence and through a powerful development of the forces of production and the national economy of each country. In the new circumstances, this is a prerequisite for asserting the power and capacity of socialist countries and socialism in general to overcome economic difficulties and contribute to resolving many world economic problems, particularly in the field of cooperation with the developing countries.

We attach great importance to this activity and I would like to assure the plenum that -- in the spirit of decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference -- the Political Executive Committee will work so that the best possible agreements will be reached at that summit, agreements that meet the requirements of all socialist countries and serve the cause of socialism, cooperation, and peace.

We have discussed measures in the area of remuneration and implementation of the economic mechanism. This year we will increase the working people's remunerations; by 1984 real incomes are planned to increase approximately 5 percent. By implementing these measures and those of the national conference we aim at further ensuring the resolute application of the socialist principle of remuneration according to the work and contribution made by each person to socioeconomic development. We will not modify the basic ratio between high and low incomes. We believe that it is still satisfactory. We will make certain improvements by promoting certain economic branches to a higher remuneration level. I am referring in particular to the oil sector, where remunerations are lower than in other sectors of equal importance.

However, generally speaking, we will not modify the current system of relationships among branches, as it is established. However, we do plan to implement what we discussed at the national conference, namely to guarantee the right to work in accordance with each person's qualifications and abilities. However, we will no longer guarantee incomes for anyone without work. Each person must be paid in accordance with his work. Incomes will reflect the work done and the results in production.

We plan to connect the overall contract system more closely with other forms of employment, with a view to ensuring the best possible remuneration system for each person. As has been stressed here, the working people demand that such forms be generalized, since they permit each person to secure salaries that reflect their work and activities. We plan to introduce the overall contract system according to sectors, sections and enterprises, so as to incorporate all the personnel in the system, as has been stressed. There will be no ceiling for incomes derived from work. We plan to increase the profit-sharing funds and bonus funds within general remuneration funds. We will increase length of service allowances and will ensure that they are reflected in pensions. Thus, those who do not change their jobs but remain in the same job will be able to derive additional incomes and a larger pension.

All the measures we envisage will cut back the share of tariff remunerations, as we decided at the national conference, and will increase that of variable remunerations and incomes. That will permit us to better wield material incentives and to increase incomes in accordance with the work done.

We plan new measures to improve the economic mechanism in the areas of production and exports. As you could see, export production will be allotted a larger portion of the total profits established for an enterprise or sector, up to 20 percent or even more, while profits for the production earmarked for domestic consumption will be cut down. That should encourage the respective enterprise to show greater concern for fulfilling the export production and improving its quality and at the same time should contribute to increasing the general incomes of the enterprise, including the profit-sharing funds and the direct incomes of the working people employed in export production.

We envisage measures to enhance the working people's sense of responsibility as owners, producers and consumers. Measures have been taken to permit the working people to purchase shares in development funds. However, I want to stress that all these measures must increase the working people's efforts to develop and strengthen socialist property, the joint property of the working people.

In the future, too, joint socialist property will constitute the sound basis for our socialist system!

Purpose of social shares -- up to a limit of 30 percent -- does not and must not detract from the decisive importance and role of the joint, socialist property of all the people as the basis of the socialist system. Any other approach would be a mistake.

Any other theory of any other way of building socialism that does not involve socialist property of all the people is nonsense; that is neocapitalist theory and must be treated as such. We must unflaggingly implement the socialist principles of ownership, labor and distribution, in the spirit of scientific socialism and of socialist ethics and equity.

All that requires decisive measures to safeguard and constantly develop public property, to increase economic efficiency and to improve the functions of our society. In this respect we want to increase the responsibility of the managerial councils of the working people and of the workers' general meetings which are to examine how the activity is progressing, how the joint property is managed and which must act with great determination against any violations of the law and the joint property. We must increase the responsibility of the executive bureaus of the working people's councils as collective administrative bodies and the responsibility of directors and other leading cadres so that the property entrusted to them is properly managed and administered.

What we have in mind is that the work contracts and the contracts on admittance to and the participation in the activity of the given enterprise should envisage -- in keeping with each one's activity -- also direct responsibilities for the given director as the official in charge in conformity with the country's laws. When we entrust a factory to a given director, it is a nonsense to not expect him to assume responsibility for how the enterprise is managed. I believe that such a thing would be explained by a wrong understanding of public property. Some people understood that, being the property of all, no one bears responsibility, that each one may take as much as he wants from a common pot but that no one is responsible for it. Such ideas must be totally eliminated. In this respect, too, we want to firmly apply the principles of the economic mechanism and of increased responsibility.

We must act to strengthen discipline, order and the spirit of responsibility in all sectors. All this should secure the necessary conditions for resolutely fulfilling the 1983 plan and the overall 5-year plan and for achieving all indexes and tasks I have mentioned.

It is also necessary for us to take all necessary measures and actions to complete this year's spring agricultural work upon schedule and under favorable conditions in order to ensure appropriate crops.

I believe that discussing these problems and the plenum decisions must set the task for all party bodies and organizations, for enterprises and state bodies to take very responsible action to implement the party and national conference decisions. We have everything needed available and we must do all we can so that tasks will be fulfilled under favorable conditions in all fields of activity in the current year.

Esteemed comrades, the second set of problems refers to the party's organizational activity, to cadre policy, to resolving the working people's letters and to the international activity.

As a matter of fact, the party's activity can be judged by the manner in which tasks are being fulfilled in all sectors. If the tasks in one or another sectors have been fulfilled under favorable conditions it means that the party activity has been carried out properly; however, if there are shortcomings it means that the party activity has not been carried out under favorable conditions either. Thus, the party activity is noticeable in the positive things we have achieved and in shortcomings and drawbacks obvious in one or another sector. To act to fulfill the tasks devolving upon us in various fields means to act to improve the party activity, to increase the role of the communists and of the party organizations in the proper progress of the overall activity.

The party's leading role is achieved in the work process in various sectors. The communists appropriately fulfill their role as revolutionaries if they fulfill the tasks entrusted to them by the party, the state and our people.

The report read on the organizational activity shows that we have a powerful party -- 3,262,000 members -- with a positive social and national composition, with a good age structure and with a not good but satisfactory participation by women. I do not now want to refer to figures. You are familiar with them and they will be published. What we have to understand, however, is that having such a numerical force and such powerful party organizations available in all counties and all socioeconomic units, we must act with greater determination so that each organization will fulfill its role of uniting all forces in implementing the party decisions and the country's laws under most favorable conditions.

This was extensively examined by the national conference. With justified pride we can state that our party is fulfilling its tasks under favorable conditions, that it enjoys the trust and esteem of all working people, irrespective of nationality, and of all our people. However, for this very reason it is necessary to take all measures required to constantly improve and perfect the party's activity, to increase the responsibility of each communist, of the party bodies and organizations in their activity.

As for increasing the ranks of the party, stress must be placed not so much on a numerical increase but on a qualitative one and on a greater increase in the number of women when new members are admitted to the party ranks. I would like to draw attention to centers with a great number of intellectuals that it is necessary to show greater concern for the activity among intellectuals when admitting new members given the fact that the share of intellectuals -- not the absolute number -- in the party has decreased and that the share of other strata has increased.

Another remark is linked to the firm application of the principles of internal party democracy with a view to a more active participation by the communists in the overall party activity and in fulfilling the tasks in all fields, because the party democracy is actually an indivisible part of revolutionary workers democracy and of the masses' participation in leading all sectors of activity.

We can also positively assess the results in the field of cadre policy. We have scores and scores of thousands of activists and party and state cadres with appropriate training who play an important role in implementing our country's domestic and foreign policy. However, here too, there are certain negative states of affairs to which we have to pay greater attention, especially to the manner in which we promote certain people and to our concern with improving the exactingness and the sense of responsibility of activists and of party cadres in various fields of activity. This requires firm action and greater concern with better becoming acquainted with and promoting cadres both in the party activity and in the economic activity and in fact all sectors! Let us pay greater attention to increasing the number of women in the party and state activity. A certain decrease in the number of women -- not too big a one -- was noted in last year's fall election. It was not a big decrease; however, it cut back the number of women in various party bodies.

It is necessary to pay greater attention to the proper training, qualification and perfecting of cadres in all fields on the basis of appropriate programs for each category.

In the future we must no longer appoint people to a position before they have had a thorough training with regard to knowning the laws, decisions, work methods and style. Regardless of which field a person has worked in, when we appoint a first secretary he must thoroughly be trained for a few weeks so that he becomes acquainted with the manner a first secretary should work.

No one is born as party first secretary, as chairman of a people's council, and no one was born as minister and no one else can teach him how to work as a minister, or, for that matter, as a deputy minister, a director and so forth! In this respect, we must work out firm measures and programs on thoroughly training cadres when we appoint them to various sectors.

I believe I do not have to further dwell on this problem. Generally, the problem of training and perfecting courses of retraining for reassignment -- which is valid for all sectors -- is of particular importance for the party and state cadres to ensure the proper leadership and progress of the activity and enable the party and state bodies to fulfill their leading role in the overall activity under better conditions.

We must act to strengthen the critical and self-critical spirit so as to stop the tendency toward self-complacency, toward easily overlooking shortcomings and drawbacks because this has very negative effects on the overall activity.

And finally, special attention within this framework must be paid to the educational-political activity and the policy of moulding the party aktiv and the party and state cadres. We must pay greater attention to measures aimed at constantly improving the ideological and political level by taking into consideration the complex problems of social development, both in our country and at a world level, and the need for our aktiv and cadres to be able to well understand all socioeconomic phenomena and to be able to act in a revolutionary spirit to resolutely implement our party's policy in all fields of activity.

In the same context, I once again want to stress the need for a constant concern for educational-political activity and for molding the new man -- the builder of socialism. It is imperatively necessary that all our mass media -- the press, radio and television -- all educational-political media -- theaters, clubs and houses of culture and the "Song to Romania" national festival -- should ensure comprehensive educational activity. This is also an important aspect of our party's and state's activity and of strengthening the unity and force of our nation and of all our people within the socialist democracy and unity front.

We have discussed the measures linked to resolving various problems raised by the working people. A year ago I swelt on this more extensively. What was established last year remains valid. The activity carried our last year also demonstrates that the working people trustfully turn to the party and state bodies but that there are two many letters and notifications sent to the Central Committee. This stresses the trust bestowed on the party Central Committee, but it also shows that the people cannot achieve a solution to problems at the bottom and that they have to approach the Central Committee for this. More care and concern must be shown in order to resolve the problems of interest to the working people. Let us exercise patience, let us explain and clarify problems to the people whenever they do not understand them. Certainly, we cannot claim that we have resolved all problems; there are quite enough shortcomings and difficulties in our society, too, and the people may be dissatisfied with one or another thing; they approach one body but do not find any understanding; no one explains things to them and then they become dissatisfied. You should not have the impression that there are people who spend most of their time only writing letters. There may be such people, too, but they are exceptions. People send letters to the Central Committee when their problems are not being resolved. I have to mention that a very important part of such letters refer to general problems, to the shortcomings in the socioeconomic activity in a given enterprise or sector. And at least 80 percent of the letters I have seen proved to be right. Maybe there were certain exaggerations, but as a whole complaints about negative states of affairs were correct and almost one third of those letters, if not more, referred to those problems.

While appreciating the trust shown by the masses in the party and the Central Committee, we must act to resolve problems so that the people can find a solution to their problems at the local bodies. Even when we are unable to resolve problems, we must explain to people so that they understand and will know how to judge things. This is part and parcel of the educational-political activity and of strengthening the links with the people's masses.

In this spirit I believe that the documents in Group II of problems concerning the party activity must be examined thoroughly by both our party bodies and by economic bodies, and all necessary conclusions must be drawn and action taken to ensure an improvement of the activity in all sectors.

As for international problems, last year, too, we indeed carried out extensive international activity. However, these problems were extensively examined in the party national conference which also established general guidelines for our international policy. Life and events fully confirm the correctness of the guidelines established by the 12th party congress and reaffirmed and specified by the national conference in keeping with the development of international issues.

We must act in this spirit to strengthen international solidarity with the communist and workers parties, with the socialist and social democratic parties, and we must strengthen our solidarity and cooperation with all socialist countries, with the developing countries and develop relations with all countries, including the developed capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence and on the basis of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and renunciation of the use or threat of force.

The basic problems established by the national conference -- the struggle for peace, for disarmament, for independence -- continue to be and must be the focus of our international activity. To appropriately fulfill the tasks devolving upon us in developing our socialist society, we must also act and actively contribute to resolving international problems. They condition each other and are in indivisible part of our party's revolutionary policy. It is in this spirit that we shall have to resolutely act this year in the international arena, too, thus serving our people's interests and those of socialism and the cause of peace and international cooperation.

With this, comrades, I want to conclude and to once again draw attention and dwell on the fact that we must determinedly proceed toward implementing the programs we have in each sector, in industry, investments, agriculture and foreign trade.

Let us do all we can so that this year will be concluded with the fulfillment of the plan under most favorable conditions. Let us create the conditions required for the fulfillment of the overall 5-year plan and for implementing the 12th party congress decisions and the party program!

With this emphasis, I want to declare our plenary proceedings closed and to wish success to all party organizations and working people and, of course, to the Central Committee members in their overall activity! (loud, prolonged applause)

GNA SESSION OPENS, HEARS GOVERNMENT REPORT

Opening, Agenda

AU251232 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 25 Mar 83

[Excerpts] The seventh session of the eighth legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] began this morning in Bucharest. The arrival in the hall of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Elena Ceausescu and the other party-state leadership members was marked by loud, lengthy applause.

The GNA adopted the following agenda:

-- report of the Council of Ministers on the fulfillment of the socioeconomic development plan in the first quarter of 1983, and measures taken to implement the decisions of the party national conference of December 1982 concerning increases in material production and labor productivity and greater efficiency in all areas of activity, and the fulfillment of all 1983 tasks.

-- report of the inquiry commission on violations of agrozootechnical law and regulations.

-- draft bill to amend and add to Law No. 31 of 1977 concerning the Congress of Managerial Councils of Socialist Agricultural Units and of the entire peasantry, of working people's councils in the food industry, forestry and water management and of the National Council for Agriculture and Food Industry, Forestry and Water Management.

-- draft bill to amend the labor code.

-- draft bill to amend the law on remuneration in accordance with the quantity and quality of work no. 57 of 1974.

-- draft bills on endorsing law decrees issued by the state council after the sixth GNA session.

As the first point of the agenda, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government, presented the report of the Council of Ministers on the fulfillment of the socioeconomic development plan in the first quarter of 1983 and on measures taken to implement the decisions of the national party conference of December 1982 to increase material production and labor productivity and efficiency in all areas, and to fulfill all 1983 tasks.

After the document was read the GNA began discussions. The proceedings continue.

Dascalescu report on Economic Plan

AU252040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2005 GMT 25 Mar 83

[Text] Bucahrest, AGERPRES 25/3/1983 -- In the report he read on Friday before the Romanian parliament on the fulfilment of the economic plan in the first trimester of this year Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu showed that in the first two months of 1983 the plan with marketable and net production had been fulfilled and over-fulfilled, the industrial marketable production being 6.9 percent larger in January than that in the same month last year, while the net production growth rate recorded in February stood at 5.5 per cent. The plan with industrial production is expected to be overfulfilled in the first trimester as a whole.

Outlining the measures taken by the government, ministries, centrals and enterprises with a view to more rapidly increasing the production of raw materials and fuel, the Romanian premier highlighted the high growth rates registered in machine building as to the same period last year (13.9 per cent in January and 10.3 per cent in February).

The Romanian head of government said that industry as a whole had still uncapitalized reserves and pointed to the guidelines of action providing for the use at capacity of the fixed assets which amount at present to more than 2,000 billion lei dating, in their majority, from the last 15 years.

Constantin Dascalescu informed the deputies of the concerns in the economy to further improve production structures, raise the technical and qualitative level of products,

ensure the operative adaptation of manufacturing processes to the demands of home and foreign end-users and the conclusion of contracts to cover the whole goods stock for export.

Referring to agriculture, the Romanian prime minister opined that the current spring campaign was thoroughly prepared. In zootechny the production increased, the inputs to the state stock being 10-15 per cent larger than in the same period last year.

In the first trimester of this year, Constantin Dascalescu said, in view is the realization of investment worth 40 billion lei, that is ten per cent more than in the first trimester last year. About 50 industrial and agro-zootechncial units were commissioned.

In connection with the evolution of foreign trade he showed that although the trade balance in the first trimester was active the export of that period as a whole was below the possibilities of the national economy. The speaker stressed in that context that Romania would place emphasis on the deepening of her relations of economic collaboration with the CEMA countries, with all the socialist countries, on the active promotion of economic exchanges with the developing countries. At the same time, action will be taken for the development of relations and collaboration with the developed capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

Dwelling on questions related to economic efficiency, the premier pointed out that in the first trimester of 1983 in view was a rise in labour productivity in industry by 3.6 per cent as to the same period last year.

The results scored in the development of material production and the growth of economic efficiency, the Romanian prime minister said, bore positively on the execution of the financial plan and the budget. In the first trimester the accumulation of money is 12 per cent larger than in the same period last year.

Endorsement of Government Report

AU252152 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2025 GMT 25 Mar 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/3/1983 -- Economic and social activities in the first trimester of this year were carried out according to the provisions of the 1983 plan, shows the resolution adopted by the Grand National Assembly of Romania gathered in a plenary session on Friday, March 25. The document approves the report of the Council of Ministers read the same day by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, a report which refers to the fulfilment of the single national plan of economic and social development in the first trimester of this year and the measures taken to increase material production, labour productivity, and efficiency in all fields of activity, to integrally fulfil the 1983 plan tasks.

According to the resolution of the parliament the government will take measures to mobilize the efforts of all ministries, centrals and enterprises with a view to integrally and rythmically turning out the physical production in the planned structure in all the branches of the national economy, utilizing with maximum efficiency the means of production and manpower, raising the technical and qualitative level of the whole production, increasing economic efficiency, strengthening worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration of all socialist units.

The document obliges the ministries coordinating the activity of ensuring the raw materials and energy base to work to turn out the production planned for this year, also requesting all departments and production units to further cut material and energy consumption while promoting a strict regime of savings.

Express tasks are set for a steady rise in the national income, a more sustained growth of labour productivity, the improvement of work, remuneration, the implementation of the investment programme, the achievement on term and in conditions of irreproachable quality of the production meant for export and the growth of its efficiency, the achievement of an active trade balance. To amplify and diversify commercial exchanges and international economic cooperation -- the resolution shows -- particular stress will be laid on the further reduction of imports and the increase of exports, on the achievement of balanced exchanges, which should ensure Romania's active participation in the international division of labour, in the strong development of her economic relations and exchanges with all states, whatever their social system.

At the end of the resolution, the Grand National Assembly considers that all conditions are provided for the integral fulfilment of the tasks contained in the single national plan of socioeconomic development for 1983.

Report on Agricultural Violations

AU261859 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 26 Mar 83

["Report of the Inquiry Commission of the Grand National Assembly" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/3/1983 -- In the plenary session of March 26 of the Romanian Parliament, Emil Bobu, chairman of the Inquiry Commission of the Grand National Assemlby read the report of the commission.

The document mentions that, following the interpellations made by some deputies in its December 1982 session, the Grand National Assembly decided that an inquiry commission, made up of deputies and experts, should investigate the cases of violation of the law provisions regarding the foddering, tending, sheltering, and health protection of animals noticed at state and cooperative farming units in the counties of Giurgiu, Calarasi, Bihor, Dolu and Suceava. The inquiry made by the commission shows that deviations were made in some farming units from the law provisions, which brought about low birth rates, losses resulted from mortalities and necessity slaughters beyond the admissible limits, the provisions of the programme of self-management and self-sufficiency by territoria' units being thus violated.

The report of the commission specifies that, during the inquiry, the commission and the local bodies took actions for eliminating the shortcomings, that the damages caused to public wealth be imputed to the guilty, some of the cadres be released from their offices and the more serious cases be passed over to penal bodies. Noticing that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the State Agriculture Department, the relevant sections of that ministry, the National Union of Producer Cooperative Farms, the county agricultural bodies and other local decision-makers bore the responsibility for those shortfalls, the inquiry commissions recommended the Grand National Assembly to call those bodies' attention to the shortcomings noticed in the activity of the zootechnical farms and complexes where the control had been made. The commission also made several proposals of measures to be taken for eliminating and avoiding suchlike shortfalls in the future.

Conclusion, Ceausescu Awards

AU261433 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 26 Mar 83

[Summary] "The proceedings of the seventh session of the current legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] continued in Bucharest this morning."

"Comrade Emil Bobu presented the report of the inquiry commission which investigated certain violations of Agro-zootechnical laws and regulations. The GNA unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the report."

"Comrade Ion Dinca presented a draft bill on changes and additions to Law No. 31 of 1977 dealing with the Congress of Managerial Councils of Socialists Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry, and of Councils in the Food Industry, Forestry and Waters Management." The GNA unanimously endorsed the bill.

With this the first part of the plenum proceedings of the seventh session of the GNA ended. The other draft bills featured on the agenda will be discussed in the second part of the current GNA session.

The GNA session was followed by a ceremony at which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu handed distinctions to county party organizations, people's councils, enterprises and agricultural units, commercial and service outlets, and scientific institutes for special results obtained in 1982. The ceremony was attended by Elena Ceausescu and "other members of the party-state leadership."

Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor at the end of the ceremony. "The party secretary general's speech -- a profound act of homage to work and to our people's conscious efforts for the benefit of the fatherland and for their own benefit -- was received as an ardent and inspiring encouragement to even more successful work and achievements devoted to the country's progress. The speech was received with loud and prolonged applause."

NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF CEAUSESCU'S PRESIDENCY

AU311220 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 28 March carries numerous items devoted to the ninth anniversary of Nicolae Ceausescu's presidency of Romania. Pages 1 and 3 carry a 1,700-word article by Ion Pavelescu entitled "A Name, a Country" while page 1 also carries a 6-stanza poem by Dan Rotaru entitled "Honoring the Hero" and all of page 2 is also devoted to the same subject. It carries a 2,200-word article by Vasile Baran entitled "When I Say Ceausescu My Soul Tells Me My Fatherland Will Always Be Sovereign and Master," and four poems. All these items and poems praise Ceausescu's concepts, policy and personality.

Half of page 8 is devoted to Ceausescu's anniversary as president as well. It features eight pictures of Ceausescu being presented awards by various international figures throughout the years. It also carries six short statements by various international figures praising Ceausescu's policy and personality.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS STATE COUNCIL MEETING, SPEAKS

Report on Meeting

AU290748 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2030 GMT 28 Mar 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/3/1983 -- Gathered on March 28 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, the State Council of Romania debated and adopted decrees containing highly important measures for the development of agriculture, the stimulation of animal breeding and the elimination of any tendency towards speculation in farmfood produce. Mention should be made, inter alia, of the decree whereby the programme is approved for the integral harnessing and exploitation of the Danube delta, the decrees on the obligation to declare the animals, the conditions of alienating and slaughtering the cattle, the sale of agricultural products by individual producers as well as on the measures for observing the maximal market prices.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and Romania's president, took the floor in relation to these normative acts.

During the same meeting, the State Council debated and adopted normative acts referring to measures for the conservation of forests, the regime of multiplying devices and certain amendments to the penal code. The State Council also examined and ratified a series of conventions and agreements Romania concluded with other countries.

The State Council examined and approved of the report on the activity carried out by the Supreme Court in 1982 and a report on the activity of the prosecuting bodies. It demanded that the legal, prosecuting and militia bodies as well as the financial bodies should intensify their activity of preventing the infringement of laws, taking concomitant action against embezzlers, against those who cause damage to the national wealth. It was decided that the central and local press bodies should inform public opinion of the sanctions applied to those who committed more serious offences prejudicing the life and integrity of persons, causing damage to the socialist and the citizens' property.

Ceausescu Speech on Agriculture

AU311214 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 29 Mar 83 p 1

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 28 March State Council meeting in Bucharest]

[Text] Today we discussed and endorsed five decrees dealing with agricultural questions.

The first one concerns the complex planning and exploitation of the Danube delta and incorporates the necessary measures aimed at capitalizing on that large area in vegetable, animal and piscicultural production as well as forestry. At the same time the decree also envisages provisions which -- through the application of measures aimed at capitalizing on the Danube delta from an economic viewpoint -- are designed to ensure the protection of the environment and the natural conditions. I believe that capitalizing on the Danube delta is of particular economic importance, and the government and Ministry of Agriculture should give it all their attention. In fact, a special organizational system has been created to achieve this goal.

The decrees adopted also envisage improvements in agricultural statutes in the sense of enhancing the responsibility of general meetings and managerial councils, and of perfecting the socialist system of cooperative property as a basis for the development of our agriculture. As a matter of fact, those measures have been discussed by cooperative members in their general meetings, county conferences and in the congress of the agricultural management councils. Thus they enjoy general approval by cooperative members and working people in agriculture. They are of great importance and I view their endorsement by the State Council as an action to strengthen and consolidate the role played by cooperative members in the overall process of the development of our socialist agriculture.

The other three decrees are closely linked to one another. The first deals with improving the system of bonuses and of encouraging animal breeding in cooperative and state agricultural units, and it also applies to individual caretakers. I hope these measures will exert a positive influence and bring about a more sustained concern by all agricultural units, including private breeders, for developing the animal breeding sector -- especially cattle breeding -- so as to ensure a better implementation of the programs set forth and the measures aimed at self-management and self-supply. What is new in this decree is the fact that a major part of the bonuses granted for cattle breeding are directly payable to caretakers and to those who compete in the effort to ensure a high birth rate.

Thus, a caretaker in a given cooperative or state unit may earn an additional income of 2,000 to 4,000-5,000 lei per year depending on the number of cows and heifers he looks after. Likewise, personnel directly involved in achieving a higher birth rate, including veterinary surgeons and chiefs of farms, will be able to earn an additional income of 4,000-5,000 lei per year. Certainly, in the case of individual breeders, bonuses are entirely payable to each animal breeder. Thus, on the basis of those measures, a greater incentive is ensured. We must see to it that they are better applied and understood, so that even this year we will see an improvement in our animal breeding, achieve a higher birth rate and better care for our livestock.

It is true, in order to fulfill this program we will need an additional fund of almost 1 billion lei, however, I believe that we should make this effort and it should bring about a sharp increase in the number of animals, in the milk and meat production and should ensure enough supplies for the people, a fact that will positively influence our national economy. Certainly, agricultural bodies -- I am referring particularly to those in the food industry and those in the Ministry of Finance -- are to take measures to ensure that the necessary funds are provided from increased production and not from increased prices. Thus, conditions are created for increasing the state's supplementary [suplimentare] incomes out of which we will be able to provide those funds.

The other two decrees deal with measures for putting order and discipline into the activity of selling agricultural products, including foodstuffs. We have envisaged very firm provisions for slaughtering and selling animals.

We have always had very strict order in that field. Unfortunately, recently the state bodies, including the militia and the people's councils, have not honored their obligations. These normative acts aim at updating and better specifying those obligations and also deal with more firmly punishing all violations.

These decrees enable breeders to sell their animals while observing sale conditions and approvals established by the law. Slaughtering of cattle and horses is completely prohibited. Those animals may only be slaughtered under conditions envisaged by the law in slaughterhouses and especially equipped places and under the supervision of state bodies and veterinary surgeons. As I have already mentioned, it is necessary for us to take proper measures to ensure conditions for animal producers and breeders to be able to sell their animals when they want to do so. However, they should only be sold on the hoof in markets and cattle fairs. With this measure we have in mind the protection of both the livestock and our people's health; therefore it must be observed with great determination.

The role of the second decree is to stop any kind of profiteering with agricultural products and foodstuffs. We also have very strict laws in this respect; however, they have not always been applied and this has brought the necessary consequences. Therefore, they have to be updated and strict obligations must be established on the legal operation of markets, on listing sales prices and on setting market prices for agricultural products in keeping with the provisions of the law and the retail prices envisaged by law. In this field, too, the state bodies should not permit the operation of markets that have no listed market prices, thus protecting our people from any kind of profiteering.

The prices that have now been set are not higher than was necessary. We have set them this way so as to give a greater impetus to agricultural production. There is no question at all of further increasing the prices of agricultural products; at least until 1985. We have to take all necessary measures so that the prices set now are respected both in state and cooperative trade and by private producers. By no means should we tolerate intermediaries between producers and consumers. Trade with agricultural products is permitted only for producers who are able and who come to sell their products in markets and places equipped for this purpose -- and there are such places everywhere -- thus ensuring a civilized marketing of their products.

The prices set by the state authorities, to which an increase of 5 percent may be added for certain products, are stimulating enough. Producers have the advantage of charging all the additional expenses which occur, including those from transporting goods. Producers charge all this directly and they have a particular advantage over enterprises even if they themselves have certain expenses. However, I believe that the measures that have been established are of particular importance in stopping any profiteering and we must take firm action against any such practices. We must protect the working people and all our people, and must ensure that goods are sold at set prices.

As I actually mentioned at the party national conference, the peasantry can buy industrial products at prices set by the state. In the case of mountainous areas where there are no grains, the state has assumed the obligation to ensure some 180 kilograms of grain per capita. We also ensure supplies of sugar and oil at prices set by the state and the peasantry can buy those products at the same prices. Therefore, agricultural producers have the duty to sell their products to the people at prices set by the law. By no means will we tolerate the sale of agricultural products and foodstuffs at higher prices.

Determined action must be taken against all those who want to live not by working, but by profiteering. They must disappear from our society, they must take up work and do it under the conditions established for all members of our society.

The measures we have adopted are of particular importance -- economic, political and social. It is necessary for us to understand and to create a general, mass climate of opinion so as to introduce order and discipline and so that the laws and norms on social coexistence are respected.

I believe that those measures and the decrees that have been adopted are of great importance and they must contribute to strengthening our society, the relations between the peasantry and workers class and to strengthening the unity and cooperation among all working people and all our people.

This is why I greatly appreciate those decrees and I believe that through their unanimous endorsement the State Council has adopted measures of particular importance for the development of our socialist society.

DUMA HAS TRADE TALKS, SIGNS PROTOCOL IN ROME

AU311934 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1700 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Rome AGERPRES 21/3/1983 -- The stage attained by the trade exchanges and economic cooperation between Romania and Italy was examined during the tenth session of the Romanian-Italian Joint Governmental Commission on Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation held in Rome, that signed out new ways and means of diversification and amplification of relations in the bilateral plane and on third markets.

The session materialised into a protocol signed by Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Bruno Corti, undersecretary of state, the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the chairmen for the two countries in the commission.

While in the Italian capital city, Aurel Duma also conducted talks with Filippo Maria Pandolfi, minister of industry, Eduardo Speranta, undersecretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, during which satisfaction was expressed at the development of the trade exchanges and economic cooperation between Romania and Italy. The sides also considering that conditions existed for their further development to the advantage of both sides.

RIBICIC SPEAKS ON RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA

AU311916 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Recorded "highlights" of speech by Mitja Ribicic, president of the SFRY Central Committee Presidium, to the political aktiv of Pristina University on 31 March]

[Text] I believe that we should much more precisely formulate these positions of ours when we speak about the policy of neighboring Albania. We should always say that we are against Greater-Albanian irredentism, chauvinism, nationalism -- reactionary nationalism -- against their interference in internal affairs, and so forth. We must very clearly state our principles on which [Ribicic does not end the sentence]. However, we must always offer our hand of cooperation, openness, and all these things, without any interference in Albanian affairs. It is an advantage that we are a country, a free, nonaligned country of world importance, a country enjoying a reputation in the world.

We are offering an alternative to the world, not an alternative of great new states, of some kind of great new ethnically pure states, which are an absurdity, a (?patriotic) mistake, something that does not exist, something that is not realistic. This is impossible, this is a war policy. This is a policy that leads to war, to a cataclysm in Europe now. The affairs in Europe are now clearly defined with the Helsinki (?document) and with the agreements reached between the big blocs. These affairs are clearly set.

As regards this problem, we have our arguments and we are on the offensive in this respect. We are not only against this Greater-Albanian irredentism and against this nationalism, against all these "isms," "isms," "isms" -- with the exception of Marxism, as we said yesterday [Ribicic chuckles] but rather we are in favor of something. We offer an alternative.

Therefore, I believe that it is in our interest that neighboring Albania is not transformed into a hotbed in the Balkans. In a sense, Albania has already begun to transform itself with its policy into a hotbed, a hotbed of unrest, a hotbed of possible conflicts of war, conflicts. We must show to the neighboring Albanian nation, to the Albanian people, that this policy is anti-Albanian because this policy leads in the end to a liquidation of Albanian freedom itself. Enver's policy leads to a liquidation, to a domination of the Balkans by blocs.

Further on Speech

AU011111 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Report on speech by Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee at a political aktiv of Pristina University on 31 March 1983]

[Summary] On his second day in Kosovo Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee visited Pristina University and the associated labor organization of the electrical industry of Kosovo and spoke with leading cadres of the Kosovo thermoelectric power plant. Mark Marleku and Arif Osmani have prepared the following report:

Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee spoke today with members of the actional conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo at Kosovo University on the ideological and political situation at this institution.

The discussion was also attended by Ali Sukrija, member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee; Sinan Hasani, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, and others.

Over 40,000 full-time and part-time students are currently studying at the university, including 4,000 members of the League of Communists organized in 77 basic organizations. Among the students, 77 percent are Albanian and 23 percent are Serbs, Montenegrins, Moslems and others. Representatives of the university gave a detailed account of the political situation at the university and of the normalization of the situation following the counterrevolutionary events. The general assessment is that solid results have been obtained, but there is still room for the activity of the subjective forces. "It is true, it was stated during the discussion, that intranational relations have cooled down, although there have been no open excesses. Those who participated in hostile activities are no longer at the university, but there are still people who remain silent and who are not active as members of the League of Communists."

Mitja Ribicic showed particular interest in the cooperation between Pristina University and Tirana University. "Some participants in the discussion stated that this cooperation has been criticized and interrupted unnecessarily, because it was beneficial to us, as well as to the other institution of higher learning. It is true that this cooperation was not based on reciprocity and that teachers from Albania have come here more frequently than teachers from Kosovo have gone there. It is also true that this cooperation has not always taken place solely on scientific bases. It was stated that these weaknesses should have been avoided and that cooperation should have continued on the basis of the well-known principles of our foreign policy.

"The cooperation between the two universities is of particular interest to me, because it is related to the development of relations between neighboring countries. Yugoslavia, Ribicic stated, is interested in Albania's remaining independent, outside the blocs, and a socialist country, to make it possible for forms of genuine socialism to be developed also in that country. Even real socialism [in Albania] contains certain elements of the socialist society, but the working class there still has no dominant role, it still has no decisive say in making social decisions. This [words indistinct] Yugoslavia, although we, too, have still not achieved this aim. In our country, too, decisions are frequently made in the name of the working class, but our system does create real bases and opens up prospects for such a development.

"Speaking about relations between Yugoslavia and Albania, Ribicic recalled that the cooling down of relations between the two states must not be a reason for offending the Albanian people and underrating their history, just as we will not permit our own past to be underrated. They are a small people whom all empires have been trying to manipulate. We must strictly condemn Enver Hoxha's policy, in a well-reasoned way, but we will not soil ourselves in the way that he is doing. In these circumstances, this may sound surprising, but we have always acted in this way. Our strength, Ribicic said, lies in the superiority of our system. We are offering the world an alternative to the blocs, and instead of war, we offer peace and cooperation. Instead of withdrawing within ourselves we offer open borders and instead of language barriers we offer bilingualism. Kosovo University is the only university in Europe where teaching is done in two languages. Proceeding from these results in our development, we must adopt a more offensive stand and offer these alternatives more intensively to the world at large, as well as in our cooperation with Albania.

"It is in our interest, Ribicic went on to say, that neighboring Albania should not be transformed into the gendarme of the Balkans. There are real possibilities for such a policy to develop in the future.

We must state clearly that such a policy on the part of the leadership of Albania is directed primarily against the Albanian people themselves. Ribicic stated that there is widespread resistance to Enver Hoxha's policy in Albania. Everything there is somehow concealed, with false [word indistinct] and an idyllic image. In fact, the nationalist, expansionist, and hegemonist policy of a government or of a party becomes obvious when it feels threatened, when it becomes conscious of the fact that its policy must be changed, but is not ready for that.

"Mitja Ribicic spoke particularly about cooperation with neighboring countries outside of diplomatic and other central institutions, as he called them. In fact, statistics show that only 17 percent of contacts take place through state organs, whereas the rest fall in the context of cultural, sports, and other forms of cooperation between peoples. If we do not cooperate now with governments or parties, we must develop other forms of cooperation. Naturally, in this direction, too, we must be strong and determined not to allow anyone to interfere in our domestic affairs, as we, too, do not do in other people's. Yugoslavia has always been prepared to cooperate with everyone and, above all, with the neighboring countries on the basis of the well-known principles of our foreign policy. Cooperation with Albania, too, is not only in the interest of Kosovo, but is a question for all our country.

"Speaking about the causes of the counterrevolutionary events, Mitja Ribicic mentioned three of them. In his opinion, the most important is foreign indoctrination, the second cause was the alienation of the League of Communists from daily problems, the neglect of political and Marxist education; and the last reason lies in the fact that Yugoslavia as a whole had neglected the struggle against nationalism. It is not only the tide of nationalism from outside that has affected us, but new sources were created in our own country, not only for Albanian nationalism, but also for Serbian, Croatian, Slovene and other nationalisms. Thus, in approving the platform on Kosovo as a congress document, we also approved mandatory tasks to combat all nationalisms throughout the country. The determined struggle waged in other parts of Yugoslavia also helped you more than all the resolutions that have been passed. Mitja Ribicic then said that from booing you went on to applause, but we are not against booing, let the booing go on, but only against those forces which are not prepared to struggle for the further development of socialist, self-managed and nonaligned Yugoslavia, those who are trying to destroy brotherhood and unity and to devalue the fundamental fruits of our revolution. I would like this milieu of national mixing, [words indistinct] in these difficult conditions, which are even more difficult than in the rest of the country, to become an example and a testimony to the world that Yugoslavia, despite all its problems, is capable of building a better and humane life. I believe that the provincial committee is on the right road, although not everything has been done yet. I know that this will not be done overnight and that it is not going to be easy, but I believe that together we can achieve even greater results, said Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee."

Accompanied by Ali Sukrija, Kolj Siroka and Ilija Vakic, he then visited the associated labor organization of the electricity generating industry of Kosovo and was informed about the results, difficulties, and efforts being made by this collective to stabilize the economy. Mitja Ribicic stressed the need for all the collectives to engage themselves more in work.

Mitja Ribicic then visited the (?thermoelectric plant) where he spoke with a number of communist workers. After being informed about the results of the plan and the general economic and political situation, Ribicic said that the working class, the Communists and peasants of Kosovo achieved victory 2 years after the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

"The relation of forces is such, he stated, that it may be said that Kosovo is on Tito's road, on the road of strengthening brotherhood and unity and the continuity of our revolution." This does not mean that all problems have been resolved. "Nationalism and other unsolved questions still remain and it is the obligation of the League of Communists to commit itself more resolutely to overcoming them," Mitja Ribicic stated, adding:

"I am encouraged by the fact that the fruits of the revolution are not only the fruits of the vanguard, but of all the working class of all our nations and peoples. This has been proven in the struggle to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. The struggle of all progressive forces in Kosovo against Albanian nationalism and irredentism is of great importance to the whole. It is characteristic of the present situation in Yugoslavia that all the progressive forces have intensified the struggle against nationalism. Kosovo has not only (?contributed) to the stability and integrity of Yugoslavia, it has also shown the way to combat nationalism. We do not believe that nationalism no longer exists and that there are no problems and difficulties. These problems, Ribicic stated, cannot be overcome solely at the state level and in party forums, but through permanent contacts between the Communists and the working class. Events in Kosovo have also shown the danger of bureaucracy. We have opposed and defeated Stalin, but we have not triumphed over all Stalinists in our own ranks."

Meanwhile, Ribicic went on to say, more must be done to change economic conditions in Kosovo. "This cannot be achieved solely through credits, be they internal or foreign credits, but primarily through better work, higher productivity, and a permanent commitment to achieve good results at work. Solidarity is part of our system and will continue to be so also in the future."

Continuing his speech, Mitja Ribicic said that the economic situation in the country as a whole is much more difficult than is sometimes realized in the associated labor organization.

Concluding Statement

AU011310 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Statement by Mitja Ribicic, president of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, to radio Pristina at conclusion of his visit to Kosovo; recorded, in Serbo-Croatian fading into Albanian translation]

[Text] We believe that the Kosovo Communists are now stronger and better organized and that they have emerged stronger from the 2-year struggle, eliminating the weaknesses in their work because they are linked with the working people and the working class, the peasantry and other sections of the population, the intellectuals [words indistinct]. We have been able to verify the extent to which the decisions of the 12th LCY Congress and those of the third, fourth, and fifth LCY Central Committee meetings are present in Kosovo. We are convinced that they are present and that the platform is being implemented. In the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, the Kosovo Communists have waged a determined struggle, which is of great importance to all Yugoslavia. They have [word indistinct] against all the negative phenomena in all environments and in all republics. They are an active factor in implementing the policy of economic stabilization, where the difficulties are greater. We must respect all agreements pertaining to the assistance that must be given to Kosovo and the solidarity of the action that will be needed.

In the fifth and sixth meeting we have also spoken much about the ideological struggle, and the people of the university must bear this particularly in mind, in solving the national question or the question of Albanian bureaucratic etatism or any other question in the Marxist way. Our assessment, that is, the assessment of our comrades in Serbia and in the federation, is positive and I believe that great progress has been made here.

GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN ON RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA

LD311416 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1327 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 31 (TANJUG) -- It seems that it is not the principles of cooperation on equal footing that suit Albania, but some specific and strange concepts on interstate cooperation for which Albania demands a "regional insularity".

The above was stated by the spokesman of the Yugoslav Government, Ambassador Svetislav Vujovic, at a press conference today, Thursday, in Belgrade.

Stressing that Tirana has not to-date given its official answer to the Yugoslav project of a program on bilateral cooperation in the field of science, culture, and education, Vujovic added that this is the reason why, eight months after the presentation of the program, talks on its implementation have not begun.

However, Vujovic added, in the Albanian paper ZERI I POPULLIT published in Tirana, very negative and insulting qualifications have been written in relation to the Yugoslav program proposal.

SUNDIC EXAMINES NEW REAGAN ARMS PROPOSAL

LD010719 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] What is the meaning of counting nuclear warheads in Europe, as proposed by President Reagan in his latest statement, in exchange for abandoning the zero option? Milika Sundic at the microphone:

[Begin recording] Although he continues to consider that the so-called zero option is the best solution for achieving an agreement on the Euromissiles, the U.S. President generously gave up his plan and proposed a new one: to count the nuclear warheads and not the rockets which carry them but, of course, only those deployed on the European soil. The new Reagan variant is attractive only at first glance and, judging by everything, equally as unacceptable to the Soviet Union as the zero option.

It is true that the Soviet medium-range SS-20 missiles have three nuclear warheads each which can be independently targets. This represents a considerable advantage as compared with the existing NATO nuclear missile potential in Europe. It is also perhaps true that Western observations about the Soviet approach to the problem of disarmament are not entirely groundless. After all, Moscow in a way admitted this when, in exchange for the U.S. "abandoning the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe, Moscow offered to reduce the number of its SS-20 missiles to the number of French and British missiles put together. Reagan's plan to count nuclear warheads in Europe seems to be based on the said Moscow proposal although the U.S. President does not accept that the number and potential of the French and British missiles should be taken into account in the exchange of Pershings and cruise missiles. However, what is missing in the U.S. President's plan on this occasion also are the U.S. missiles outside Europe which are -- as the military would say -- destined for the European theater of war. The Soviet Union considers -- and not without justification -- that the total number of missiles destined for Europe would show that the relationship of forces is balanced and that the West has perhaps a certain advantage.

It is true that Europe is so full of nuclear and other armaments that no counting can replace what the world demands from the great powers -- that is, that they embark on a radical reduction and limitation of armaments.

What President Reagan said to Moscow in his latest message seems to be only an introduction to what he should say one day. Reagan is also expected to explain what the United States intends to do about the production of the so-called superarms to which the U.S. President referred a week ago and which was met by strong reaction to the part of Yuriy Andropov in PRAVDA. Everything makes one believe, however, that all proposals put forward lately by President Reagan boil down to one thing: The United States seems to be determined to begin in the shortest possible time with the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Should this happen, the arms race will continue and a Reagan-Andropov meeting would be hard to imagine. [end recording]

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE DISAGREES ON SPENDING BILL

AU311224 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 83 p 4

[J. Kesic report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Mar -- The fate of the law on the surplus revenue of sociopolitical and self-managing interest communities remains completely uncertain today, but an extraordinary session of the Federal Chamber has been convened for the day after tomorrow solely to adopt this extremely important document. It can even be said that the confusion about dealing with the surpluses is now even greater than it was yesterday, for the delegates of the Finance Committee, despite their best intentions, were unable to agree to the bill. The Federal Executive Council has asked the Chamber of the Republic and Provinces to give its opinion on this document, but since the approval has been given, what to do next remains an unsolved question.

The discussion between the delegates of the Finance Committee and members of the Federal Executive Council lasted 3 hours and ended without a solution. Everybody kept to his position, furnishing strong arguments. In a second version of the bill the federal government proposed that funds for public spending this year should increase 11 percent, and social spending 13 percent, and that everything above these limits be returned to the economy. This was explained by the fact that all the aspects of spending in the first 2 months of this year increased much more than the economy and the society could bear. The negative trends in the distribution of income have been carried over from the previous years, so that the part of the income retained by associated labor is constantly diminishing. In 1980 work collectives were left with 64.2 percent of the gross income; in 1981 with 63.3 percent and in 1982 with 61.2 percent. These negative trends were even more pronounced at the beginning of this year. The Federal Executive Council therefore believes that spending must certainly be bridled in some way.

There is no doubt that the arguments of the federal government are as firm as they can be. The delegates accept this, but at the same time they say that the proposal does not conform to the resolution for this year. Section 25 of the basic document on the socioeconomic development of the country provides that public and social spending will increase by at least 10 index points less than the growth of income, and this is quite a different yardstick from the one used by the Federal Executive Council in proposing the bill. Therefore the Federal Executive Council proposal is contrary to the resolution.

Such a law, the delegates say, would most probably share the infamous fate of many others and would not be implemented, because it is untenable.

Everybody agreed only that spending, which in the first 2 months this year increased as much as 30 percent, must somehow be reduced, but for the time being it is uncertain how this will be done. Well, even this uncertainty should not last long, for the bill should be adopted tomorrow, by urgent procedure, for its delay would cause immense difficulties to the economy.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE QUESTIONS EXPORT FIGURES

AU311555 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 83 p 4

[S. Vukmirovic report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 Mar -- Puzzlement, suspicious, and unconcealed dissatisfaction marked the discussion on economic trends at the beginning of the year -- especially in the foreign trade field -- which was conducted today in the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of the Republics and Provinces. Even some, at first sight "favorable," statistical data on foreign trade flows could not much improve the general feeling.

These relatively favorable data were contained in the introduction remarks by Jon Srbovan, member of the Federal Executive Council, on the overall economic trends at the beginning of the year with a stress -- to suit the audience -- on foreign trade and balance of payments results. From the beginning of the year until 24 March, as compared with the same period last year, overall exports were increased 3.1 percent, and those to the hard currency area even 16.4 percent, while imports decreased almost 11.5 percent in the same period. Thanks to such developments, our deficit amounted to $468 million, which means it was reduced as much as 54 percent.

These results succeeded in considerably increasing the share of Yugoslav imports paid for with exports. While this share in the same period last year amounted to 70.1 percent, it has now increased to 82.3 percent.

The first observation concerns the "quality" and the stability of such export data. It was observed that, when economic activities are stagnating -- a fall of 0.3 percent was marked in the first 2 months -- it is illusory to expect that we will be able to provide enough goods for exports over a longer period. In addition, if one discounts the high export figures for February because of the exports of a few ships which were registered at that time, January and March were not particularly successful; in the course of January, there was a fall of exports as compared with the same month last year, and March passed without an increase, stagnating.

One of the remarks of the delegates referred to the question of the dinar rate of exchange policy. It was noted that starting with the October devaluation and up to now, the value of the dinar fell by more than 40 percent and it was asked what sort of consequences (including the negative ones) arise from all this, "especially in realizing our anti-inflationary program" (Momcilo Cemovic).

Because of the present relatively rapid "slide" of the dinar, the economy may react in a way that is not most favorable for us, Kemal Tarabar said. He remarked that it is not impossible that some of the export-oriented associated labor organizations may be reluctant to export now, calculating that "tomorrow" they will get more dinars for the foreign exchange earned.